

Right NOW!

Issue 22

January ~ March 1999

£1.50/\$4.00

A magazine of politics, ideas and culture



THE NEW GLOBAL ARISTOCRACY

Plus: Interview with Arthur Jensen ♦ Wyndham Lewis
Restoring British nationhood ♦ Right policies for a better future
Dispatches: United States and Vietnam
Roy Kerridge on Welsh winters

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Printed, published and distributed by Right NOW!, BCM Right, London, WC1N 3XX, UK.

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Much is to be done

The launch of the Euro has meant a depressing start to 1999. That eleven European nations should choose to relinquish their separate identities in a sort of combined shopping centre and theme park should be lamented by patriots everywhere, as tending to diminish the diversity of human life and remove power even further from ordinary people. Our sympathy must go to those in the subjugated countries who continue to resist incipient tyranny, but we must now campaign more determinedly than ever to avoid being sucked into the vortex ourselves.

Our enemy is plain to see. "Our" government's delight in handing over General Pinochet to some Spanish communists and its slavish support for President Clinton show that it prefers international over national law and "liberal" fanaticism over propriety. Its malicious and pointless destruction of the House of Lords shows New Labour's residual class resentments. Claims occasionally made by some members of the Government that they are "British patriots" should on no account be taken seriously. The Liberal Democrats are likewise anti-British, as are the Welsh and Scottish "nationalists", who see no inconsistency in exchanging rule from London for overbearing and more expensive rule from Brussels. The Unionist parties have their own battle of survival to fight.

This leaves better elements of the Conservative Party, Labour iconoclasts like Frank Field, Tony Benn and Lord Shore, and

an array of parties and campaigning groups, notably Business for Sterling and the Democracy Movement. Even within these ranks, there are many trimmers. Our opponents are well-funded and attuned to current globalist trends, while we are relatively poorly-funded and run counter to the Zeitgeist. Britain's prospects of remaining an independent nation look poor, with years to go before a general election.

But much can and should be done. One of our chief tasks must be to convince people that the introduction of the Euro is not "inevitable", as opinion polls indicate that a majority believes. Here economic arguments will come to the fore. But we must also argue in different ways to different audiences (this is why it would be undesirable to have a single, large anti-EU group). We must not be afraid to use the language of patriotism, and we must not be afraid to call our opponents what they are. This is not a game, but a struggle for our country's freedom.

We must, however, sedulously avoid overstatement or conspiracy theorising, as the British dislike hyperbole, abstraction and shrillness. We must stress our moderation to older people and our anti-establishmentarianism to the young. We should at all times emphasise the simple point that this is a battle for our individual liberties.

Please bear the above in mind when working in your respective circles of influence. There is a great deal that we can and must do, and a country to win. □

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Little Englanders or Great Britons?

Henry Gilmore says that Britain must look to a revived Commonwealth, rather than to the EU or NAFTA, for her new destiny

Few can doubt that the period between the end of World War II and the present day has been one of the most sorry eras in British history. We started with a mighty Empire, but have finished as little more than a province of a federal Europe. The very existence of the United Kingdom itself is now threatened by devolution in Scotland and Wales, and by sell-out in Northern Ireland. These developments are not unrelated.

Apologists for Euro-federalism are extremely fond of describing those opposed to European integration as "Little Englanders". Not only is this a lie, but it is the complete antithesis of the truth. It is those who lack confidence in our country to exist outside a European "super state", yet who simultaneously wish us to think of ourselves as "English" (or "Scottish" or "Welsh") rather than as British, who are in reality the "Little Englanders".

All the signs are that the EU is heading for troubled times. The common currency is being rushed into operation amidst fudge and false accountancy which threatens total chaos; the global economic recession will spell disaster for all those economies that cannot control their own interest rates; and Euroscepticism is on the increase throughout the EU – not just in Britain. Britain must get out, and get out quickly.

To withdraw, however, there must be a clear alternative. Many opponents of the EU state simply that the UK should leave and become totally "independent" of all international links – becoming a sort of large-scale Switzerland. Such a policy may be possible, but it is not practical. The lack of any "big idea" as an alternative will not only fail to galvanise majority support in the electorate, but also ignores Britain's historic and natural attributes as a great global power.

The idea of the UK joining NAFTA is being increasingly suggested as an alternative. Such a development has much to be said in its favour. NAFTA has no political agenda and there is no talk of a common currency. Furthermore, Britain has closer traditional and ethnic ties with Canada than with any continental country, and our links with the United States are also natural, strong and long-standing. But there is one major problem with NAFTA: Mexico.

However, there is another possibility, entailing that enigmatic and often derided

institution – the Commonwealth. It must be emphasised, however, that we are not talking about the farcical present-day Commonwealth, but rather the possibilities that such a widespread and diverse grouping of nations and territories might still offer us.

Encouraging signs

There are already some encouraging straws in the wind. It should not be forgotten that the initial break-up of the United Kingdom actually preceded the collapse of Empire, when the 26 counties of southern Ireland were allowed to secede in 1922, and it is here, ironically, where some of the most significant signs of Britain's restoration as a larger world player have surfaced. Despite the current concentration of attention on political changes in Northern Ireland, one far more important development has been overlooked – the growth of pro-Unionist sentiment in the Republic of Ireland. A vibrant Unionist Association has been in existence at Trinity College, Dublin for some time, and out of this has grown the nationwide pro-reunification Reform Movement. In April 1998, for the first time since partition, an overtly Unionist candidate, John McDonald, stood in an election for the Dail in a Dublin constituency, and obtained a surprisingly respectable number of first-preference votes. Support for the more limited idea of the Republic of Ireland rejoining the Commonwealth is even greater, however, with even former President Mary Robinson voicing her approval. It should also be borne in mind that were the United Kingdom to leave the EU, then for geographical, cultural and economic reasons it would be difficult to imagine the Republic of Ireland not following.

We must continue to look west, however. Canada is probably the most obvious and logical nation with whom Britain could establish an integrated market, and here the growth in support for the French-speaking Quebec separatists has caused a natural pro-British backlash amongst the Anglophile majority. Similarly, every advance by Australia's pro-Republican campaigners only increases pro-British sentiment in that country. But it is not only to the old Dominions where Britain should be looking for a new (or revived) global role. Many ordinary citizens of Third World Commonwealth countries also look back to the era of British colonial

rule as a golden age. In Hong Kong, just prior to the unnecessary handover of that little pot of gold to the tender mercies of Communist rule, Kowloon was festooned with wall graffiti saying such things as "Long Live British Martial [sic] Rule", sentiments which were confirmed by opinion polls showing that over 70% of the population would prefer Hong Kong to remain a British colony. During a recent visit to London, Ian Smith told how he was constantly being approached by blacks in the former Rhodesia who told him that they wished he was still in charge, and a recent television documentary dumbfounded liberals when a number of blacks in South Africa openly stated that life was far better for them during the days of white rule.

At this stage it would be a mistake to theorise upon the precise nature of this "new" Commonwealth. It would not, however, simply be a replica of the previous British Empire. After all, we are now living in the age of the Internet – but the very nature of the "global village" means that intercontinental alliances and single markets will be far more practical in the Twenty-First Century than they were in the Nineteenth. It will probably evolve as a "core" Commonwealth revolving around the United Kingdom, the original dominions (including southern Ireland) and Britain's existing overseas territories, but it will not be solely restricted to them. Certainly most of the Caribbean nations (who have suffered so much from Britain's membership of the EU) would find it most advantageous to become involved, as will certain south-east Asian countries, for recent history has proven that they are economically dependent upon the United Kingdom.

Although the United States itself would undoubtedly not join any formal structure, the future even so bodes well for a closer and more mutually advantageous relationship. The most likely Republican candidate in 2000, George Bush Jnr, is an enthusiastic Anglophile. The coming of the new millennium could well herald America's largest potential "ethnic lobby" – those of British descent – at last asserting their ascendancy.

There are those real "Little Englanders", of course, who will claim that Britain no longer has the ability to be a great power. They ignore the very important fact, however, that twice during our nation's dark era (1945-1999) – during the Falklands and Gulf Wars – Britain has proven that her latent greatness remains undiminished.

It is time for a new agenda for a new era. We will have to decide whether we wish to be "Little Englanders" or "Great Britons". We must choose between looking east to continental Europe where we have little in common traditionally and few economic advantages – or west towards Ireland, the Americas, and the open seas. □

Henry Gilmore worked in southern Africa for 14 years. He writes from north Kent

Derek Turner interviews world-famous psychologist Arthur Jensen

Arthur R Jensen of the University of California, Berkeley is probably the world's best-known living psychologist. He has been called "the most discussed and least read essayist since Karl Marx", "the most publicized (and vilified) figure in psychology" and "one of the greatest social scientists of our time". Here, Professor Jensen talks about political correctness, the nature of human intelligence and his new book

30 years ago this year, your famous *Harvard Educational Review* (HER) article, "How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?" was published, giving rise to an enormous wave of controversy which has not yet subsided. What are your reflections on that fateful February?

Why was there such a fuss?

I've never regretted that article, and there are very few things in it I would change. I think the article opened up issues for exploration, and that is all to the good. Although it brought me a lot of personal calamity, that is neither here nor there. Outsiders think that it was far worse than it actually seemed to me at the time.

Many people had been misled to believe that mental ability did not have any hereditary component and that environment alone determined differences in mental abilities. I think that the aftermath of the war and the Holocaust led people to have a great distaste for any interest in racial differences of any kind. This has become a strong popular prejudice.

The HER denied me reprints for quite a long time and denied permission to others who wanted to reprint things from the article. I finally had to go to a lawyer. As a result of this, I am still getting royalties from the HER thirty years later. That article has kept the HER financially solvent.

I think the article has been influential. Every year it is used in college courses as required reading and has become a kind of classic, one of the half-dozen most-cited works in the whole social sciences citation index. Most scientists in my field were once unwilling even to consider genetic factors in relation to racial differences in IQ. But an interesting survey, in 1987, of the opinions of 661 scientists in the fields most relevant to this issue should be mentioned here. They anonymously answered a detailed questionnaire concerning the measurement of intelligence, the relative contributions of genetic and environmental factors to human variation in mental ability, and whether genetic as well as environmental factors play a part in the average difference between American whites and blacks. Among the 86% of those surveyed who didn't disqualify themselves from expressing an opinion on this particular question of racial differences, 52% held the opinion that both genetic and environmental factors are involved in the average black-white IQ difference; 30% believed the data insufficient to support any reasonable opinion; 17% believed that environmental factors alone accounted for the difference; and 1% held that the difference was entirely genetic (Snyderman, M & Rotherman, S, *The IQ Controversy: The Media and Public Policy*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ, 1988).

My own research, and my study of the published research of others up to 1998, leads me to my present conclusion that the average difference in IQ between present-day blacks and whites in America is caused by the same genetic and environmental factors that cause individual differences within each racial group, and to the same degree. That is, the causal basis of the IQ differences between two whites, or two blacks, or a black and a white, are essentially all the same in their proportions of genetic and environmental contributions to the difference.

Scientifically, there is no need to posit either different genetic or different environmental causes of the observed IQ difference

between whites and blacks than for the causes of IQ differences between individuals of the same racial background.

Who were your strongest supporters at the time?

The publishers of most scientific journals supported me, because referees in my field to whom they sent my articles for review supported my findings. My article was read into the Congressional record by a Southern senator. I was asked to write a letter supporting school segregation to the editor of a newspaper. I wrote a letter but said just the opposite. I didn't then and still don't support school segregation, although I don't support forced integration either. I believe in maximising individual liberties and freedoms consistent with their not damaging other people. People ought to be allowed to attend whatever school they wish to or are in a position to attend.

Do you think the censorship of unfashionable ideas has worsened since 1969?

I think it has, although it is now less obvious and works in subtle ways. There is a lot of self-censorship that we didn't have thirty years ago. People are afraid; they have seen what's happened to me and to Rushton [Editor's note: See RN 13] and a few others. The word "racism" is so feared that to be associated with it in any way, however remotely, keeps some people silent and means that they distance themselves from anyone who wants to do some scientific research on racial topics.

Your new book, *The g Factor* [Editor's note: Praeger, 1998].

See review by Richard Lynn, page 19] is an attempt to define general intelligence, or *g*, and assess its importance. What is your opinion of the theories of "multiple intelligences" promoted by people like Howard Gardner?

I don't think it makes sense to call every type of ability an intelligence, unless one wants to use intelligence as a blanket term to represent any type of mental ability or talent. Gardner even extends it to physical abilities – he calls capability in dancing or athletics intelligences. By the same token, you could say that chess-playing is a kind of athletic ability because you have to make movements of pieces on the board. We know that there are many different levels of abilities, but the important thing is that all of the abilities are correlated with each other. It is the intercorrelation between all of these abilities that forms the general, or *g*, factor. Those who are above average in one ability will tend, on average, to be better than average in every other ability. Even Gardner admits the existence of *g*; he just thinks that all of his special abilities are more interesting.

Can't somebody be extremely proficient verbally but hopeless mathematically or mechanically? Doesn't specialisation in one field imply superior ability in that field?

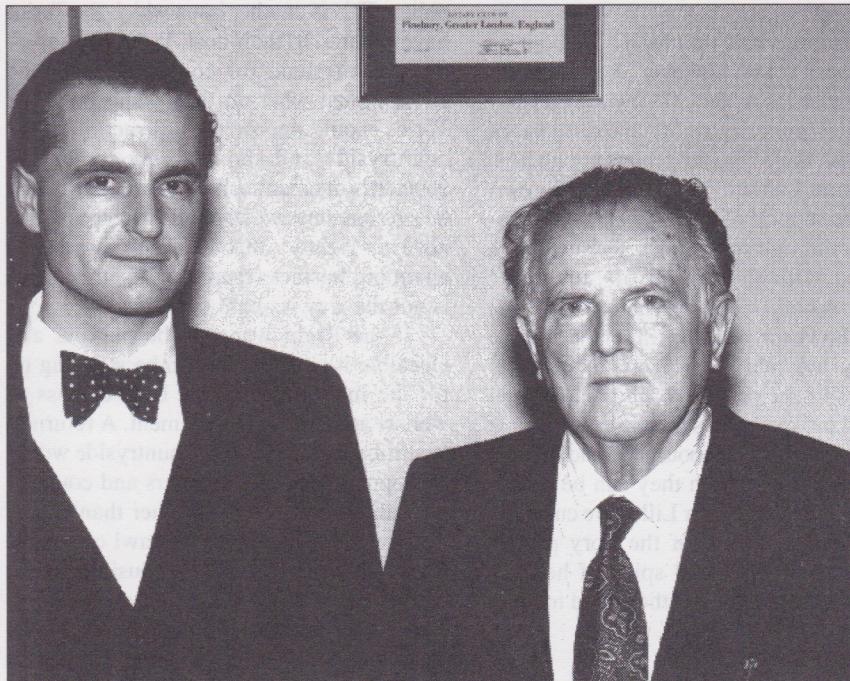
Actually, people who rate very highly verbally will tend, on average, to be above average in mathematical abilities. There are differences between all of these abilities; they are distinguishable as different abilities because they are not perfectly correlated with each other. But they are nonetheless positively correlated with each other. People who say that they are very poor at mathematics but good on verbal abilities are actually generally above average in mathematics. Because of their lack of interest in mathematics or the simple fact that they are better at something else, they have cultivated their strengths but done nothing about their weaknesses. They wouldn't actually know much about mathematics, but if you put them on a maths course they would be likely to do better than people selected from a group low in verbal ability. There are extreme cases, of course, such as the condition called Williams' Syndrome, in which the person has high verbal ability but has very low *g* factor, almost to the point of being an imbecile, but these cases are very rare. It is necessary to have a reasonably high *g* level in order to realise any special talent.

Some critics of your work say that because g cannot be measured directly it does not exist. How do you define g? Can its existence ever be proven?

g can be defined quite precisely as a property of the information-processing capacities of the brain that causes all mental abilities to be positively correlated. Measuring *g* is measuring the speed and efficiency of processing information, whatever the information is. It cannot be defined in terms of the contents or superficial properties of a test, but it can be measured by any set of mental tests you care to mention, providing the tests are sufficiently varied to tap as much of this information processing power as possible. The greater the number and the more varied the tests, the better estimate you can get of a person's *g*.

One can identify the degree to which each test in a battery of mental tests measures this *g* factor, using factor analysis. This is a mathematical algorithm or set of algorithms that divides up the variation that you get on a lot of tests given to a lot of people into factors.

The first factors that come out of such an analysis – the primary factors – are abilities like verbal ability, spatial ability,



Professor Arthur Jensen (right) with Right NOW! editor, Derek Turner

mechanical ability and verbal fluency. Any measurement of these primary abilities is also a measurement of *g*. The factor analysis starts with a matrix of correlation co-efficients between all of the tests put into the factor analysis. Every test is correlated with every other test to a certain degree. They are always positively correlated. These correlations are subjected to a mathematical procedure which tells to what extent each test is correlated to what is general to all of the tests and then what is general only to certain types of tests. If you have 30 or 40 different kinds of test, you may have three stages in this hierarchy: primary abilities, secondary factors and then the general factor. The *g* loading uncovered in one set of tests will remain fairly constant across other sets of tests.

What proves that *g* is not just an artefact of the method of factor analysis is the fact that *g* is correlated with many physical variables - brain size, electrical potentials of the brain as measured by the electroencephalograph, glucose metabolism of the brain, the pH level of the brain and various reaction time measures that have little or no intellectual content.

The popular press is always saying that there is cultural bias in the tests, but it is now generally agreed that the heritability of IQ is something between 40 and 80%. A good average figure is 70%. It doesn't make a lot of sense to talk about the overall heritability of IQ because it changes with age, being lowest in young children and increasing with age, contrary to what people would expect on an environmental basis. It is as if the genotype

increasingly expresses itself in the phenotype as a person matures.

Some who research into IQ differences say that black people should not be hurt by insinuations that they have lower average IQs. Isn't this disingenuous?

I think that blacks may be hurt, but they must be told that we are dealing with average differences, and a person's IQ is a person's IQ. Women are generally shorter than men, but a tall woman is the same height as a tall man. Rationally, people shouldn't be bothered by this but it becomes a political and social issue. The average IQ difference between blacks and whites, which is about 15 points, is not very different from the range found between siblings raised together. That difference doesn't seem to bother people.

A "high government official", quoted in a *Life, August 1969* article about you, said that what you maintained in your *HER* article was "secret knowledge in Washington, something everybody knows and doesn't say. In the bureaucracy, when they see these compensatory programmes not working, they just look at each other...". Do you think this was, or is, true?

I believe there are informed people who can see that the kind of things I've been saying and writing are borne out by the evidence, but there is less and less discussion of these matters. 30 years ago, there was a tremendous amount of discussion about all of this at conferences, granting agencies, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the US Office of Education. However, I talked to a very high-level British politician some years ago who was very well informed, as are some very high-level US officials.

When Headstart [Editor's note: a US government educational initiative] began, I was all for it, but it hasn't had any effect on cognitive abilities or on scholastic achievements in the long run. Even much more intensive educational programmes have had little or no effect. The best-conducted and most intensive study shows about a five point IQ gain and this seems to have held up fairly well to the age of 14. How long after that age it will continue to hold up remains to be seen. This isn't going to solve the problem, although if it could be done on a broad scale it would help. But it is very costly and very intensive, involving taking children out of their homes for nearly all of the waking hours from infancy and placing them in a very special setting with surrogate mothers and trainers. One such study, the famous Milwaukee Project, cost US\$20,000 per IQ point raised per child, but by

the time the children were at junior high school age there was no discernible effect at all compared to a control group that received no treatment.

I attended a school board meeting in Berkeley, 25 years after the schools were integrated, at which it was reported that the achievement differences between blacks and whites were as great as ever. A black woman stood up and said "What are you doing to our children to cause these big differences?" The Superintendent shrugged his shoulders and said, "You name it, we've tried it!" Yet no-one is willing to entertain another possible answer; they just keep going on in the same way. □

Arthur R Jensen. Born 1923, San Diego. BA, University of California, 1945. MA, San Diego State College, 1952. PhD, Columbia, 1956. Studied with Hans Eysenck, University of London, 1956-58 (again 1964-65). Assistant professor of education, School of Education, University of California, Berkeley, 1958-date. Assistant research psychologist, Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, UC Berkeley, 1959-61. Founder member, Institute of Human Learning, UC Berkeley, 1961. Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 1966-7. Professor of Educational Psychology; Research Psychologist, Institute of Human Learning (later School of Education), University of California, Berkeley. His published works include *Educability and Group Differences* (1973), *Bias in Mental Testing* (1980), *Straight Talk about Mental Tests* (1981), and *The g Factor* (1998), as well as numerous articles in academic journals. His hobbies include swimming, playing chess, cooking Indian curries and listening to symphonic music (he plays the clarinet and has previously conducted amateur orchestras).

The right policies for the future

George Warwick offers a few modest proposals for Rightist revival

After 18 months in power Labour's popularity seems to be defying gravity and refusing to come down. At a time when the Tories might have expected the public to show more dissatisfaction with Labour's handling of the economy, their failure to keep their promises on health and education, their hectoring and their sleaze, the polls still show Labour over 25 points ahead. The problem the Tories face is that while the public is unhappy with many aspects of the Labour government, they do not think of the Conservatives as a better alternative; in fact, they simply do not think of the Conservatives at all.

The reason for this is simple: while in power the Conservatives became obsessed with economics, and now that Labour has absorbed the Right's economic policies, while offering a 'softer, kinder capitalism', the Tories appear to have nothing to offer. In other words, now that we have 'New' Labour, what is the point of the Conservative party? For while the Conservatives undeniably won the battle of ideas on economic issues, they never even engaged the enemy on social issues, allowing the Left a completely free hand to shape the agenda. Time and again *Right Now!* warned against this blinkered fixation on market economics and treating social issues as an unnecessary nuisance. Maybe they'll listen now. Indeed, the Tories are going round the country claiming to be 'Listening to Britain'. The danger, of course, is that not having any instinctive compass bearings of their own they will simply copy the policies of the Left, assuming these are what the public wants. You can see this happening already, with Hague trying to ingratiate himself with every minority group in sight with his new 'politics of inclusiveness'. This is a nonsense, and is not what the 'public' wants at all, or at least not that section of the public to which we should be seeking to appeal.

This leads me to my second point. After years of 'pragmatic' leadership – which in practice meant simply managing decline without the courage to try and reverse it – the Tories suddenly found, in Mrs Thatcher, a 'conviction' politician. This was such a new and exciting experience that they got quite carried away and turned economic convictions into a dogma to be pursued without any regard to their effects on their supporters. They forgot that the essence of politics is to reinforce that section of society which embodies the values which you espouse. Instead, the worship of unbridled market forces, combined with the complete lack of social policies, harmed many of the Right's natural supporters who, with under-

standable disillusionment, stayed at home on election night rather than vote for either a government they despised or a Labour Party which can never reflect their instinctive values. But the very fact that these values are largely instinctive, and that these voters mainly abstained in response to the absence of a party they could believe in, means that the ignorant chatter that the Right is finished and Labour are set to govern for a generation is about as accurate as Wilson's claim that Labour was the 'natural party of government'.

Becoming a pale imitation of Labour on social issues is not, however, the way to regain all those lost voters. If they want a party that values minority rights above those of the normal, majority, indigenous population, they'll vote Labour. The Tories will never attract the support of those 'egalitarian' people who, through some character defect, are obsessed with the notion of 'equality', whether racial, sexual or national. These people, however, are in a minority, and the majority are merely waiting for a party which offers the promise of individual freedom and prosperity, a safe and comfortable lifestyle, a decent neighbourhood and society, and a country of which they can be proud. William Hague and Peter Lilley are currently undertaking a review of the Tory party's policies, so in my usual spirit of helpfulness I will tell them what they need to do to win the next election.

Local policies

Let me begin with the truism that 'all politics is local'. What everyone wants is a safe and pleasant neighbourhood in which to live. On law and order the public are concerned about those local crimes which affect them most – vandalism, juvenile delinquents, muggings, burglaries and car thefts. Labour has grasped this and tried to respond by talking of 'zero tolerance' policies. Their deeds are unlikely, however, to match their words, and the Right should run with this and recapture the initiative. The police are increasingly seen as ineffectual against violent criminals, and only interested in the easy cases, enforcing petty regulations, or interfering in private domestic disputes. The Right should promise that they will take the police out of their cars and put them back on the beat, particularly in the evenings in the city centres. Children are often involved in anti-social behaviour, with no genuine sanctions available against them. The usual response is to call for more borstals, but this should only be the last resort. The proper solution is to place responsibility back where it belongs – with the children's parents. Parents should be made genuinely re-

sponsible for the actions of their children, with fines or even prison sentences if they do not enforce proper parental control. Another problem is the number of criminals who are allowed to go on offending with nothing more than a caution and a slapped wrist if they are caught. The Right should promise that all muggers, burglars and car thieves will receive automatic jail sentences for first offences.

Another important factor in making a neighbourhood pleasant is environmental policy. This is another issue which the Tories have ignored to their cost. If the Conservatives don't stand for conservation of the environment what do they stand for? The Tories should oppose the destruction of the countryside and should press for higher standards in areas such as water quality and beach cleanliness. The public perception was always – rightly – that the Tories cared more about big business than the little man. This is not the way it ought to be.

If the Right wants to be popular and electable it must be seen to be standing up for the individual against big business as well as against big government. A return to 'traditional values' in the countryside would be popular with city dwellers and countrymen alike. For instance, rather than allowing towns and villages to sprawl outwards, we should insist that all new housing be built on the 'brownfield' sites in city centres. Increasing the middle-class population of town centres also increases the viability of high street shops, reduces commuter travel, and reduces crime too, as there are more people around in the evenings.

Another area which has been much overlooked but which offers great prospects for the Right is transport. Again, Labour and the Conservatives are so blinkered all they can think of is the motor car, demonising and fawning over it in turn. Of course cars are important, and Labour's hostility to them can be exploited (bypasses, for instance, are often essential to reduce the volume of traffic choking some towns) but other means of transport should be considered too. *Right Now!* recently suggested that the Conservatives should campaign for a magnetic levitation inter-city rail link; extremely fast, environmentally friendly and likely to lure travelers away from their cars, such a policy would instantly reposition the Tories as modern, imaginative and supporters of public transport. Besides, it is a disgrace that Britain, the country that invented the railway, is now being left behind as other countries embrace this new technology – Switzerland is the latest country to do so, recently announcing plans for a 360mph train



Campaigning for new modes of transport, like this German monorail, would allow the Right to be seen as modern and imaginative

service. Conservatives should also have specific policies targeting local concerns. The 'one size fits all' approach to politics is absurd. By adopting locally targeted manifesto commitments the Tories could, for instance, probably win seats in West London simply by opposing any further development of Heathrow airport and by promising to ban night-time flights. Of course this would displease large companies such as BAA and BA, but as I said before, the right must be seen to care more for the local individual than the international conglomerate. Similarly, in London, a pledge to extend and improve the underground service, to install air-conditioning and have patrolling guards on the trains would be enormously popular. Every city and rural area is bound to have individual problems which are amenable to a similar approach.

Clear blue water

While local policies such as these will attract the voters, to be taken seriously as a national party you must have a clear set of national policies too. These should be populist, eye-catching, radical and distinctive, and rooted in traditional conservative values: family, freedom, prosperity, security and nation. The Tories' strongest weapon during the Thatcher years – taxation – was devalued by both their record in office and by Labour's new comforting rhetoric. This does not mean, however, that tax cannot be revived as a vote-winning issue, but this will need more imagination than simply arguing for an extra penny off the basic rate. In issue 13 of *Right Now!* we set out detailed and costed proposals to achieve three essential objectives: reducing the marginal rate of tax, taking the low-paid out of the tax system altogether, and using the tax rules to actively support marriages rather than undermine them, by promising a married man's allowance of £25,000. I also recommended that there should be no tax at all on the interest earned on savings and investments. Radical

and imaginative proposals such as these would be immensely popular with precisely those groups the Tories should be targeting: low and middle-income workers, traditional families and pensioners.

The other main political issue of recent years is, of course, Europe. This is the one area where William Hague has made a marginal improvement; the Tories are now committed to keeping the pound – but only for the next parliament! Not only is this too weak and unprincipled to satisfy any genuine patriot, but allowing 'big name' Tories such as Clarke, Heseltine and Heath to speak against this line means that the public will not believe it. The only solution is to kick the rebels out of the Party. We all know, of course, that the only realistic solution in the long-term is to redefine our relationship with the EU altogether, remaining a free trade partner but opting out of all the social and political links. I accept, however, that this might be thought a little too much 'red meat' to throw the public straight away, after all the years of being told that Britain is far too small and weak to survive on her own. The Tories should at least start signposting the direction we must take by promising that they will repatriate legal powers back to Britain.

Similarly, the Tories should start rowing back from the current feminist, multi-racialist and politically correct extremism, and identify themselves as the party of freedom of choice and liberty of expression. A return to a traditional, commonsense way of life, free from Stalinist thought-police, would appeal to a majority of the public, and simply requires the repeal of the sex discrimination and race relations legislation, together with the abolition of the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Race Relations Board. If the Tories are too frightened of stirring up the black and feminist lobbies this side of the general election, they should at least signal their intentions by stat-

ing that they would 'fundamentally review' these laws. On immigration, *Right Now!* set out proposals in the last issue, involving an end to further arrivals, the deportation of all those here illegally, and the introduction of a generous policy of assisted voluntary repatriation. As was pointed out, polls have shown that assisted voluntary repatriation would be welcomed by a large majority in each ethnic group, so this alone would be a certain vote-winner.

By taking up distinctive, traditional and populist positions on these four big issues – taxation, Europe, feminism and immigration – would give an opposition party a clear 'brand-image' which would appeal to a majority of the public.

The big idea

The final ace to play is the 'big idea', the radical proposal which captures the headlines and puts Labour on the back foot. I believe that voter-initiated referendums would be the ideal such policy. At a time when the public is dissatisfied with and distrusts politicians and is feeling generally disenfranchised, the idea of being able to take control would be immensely appealing. Voter-initiated referendums exist in other countries, most notably Switzerland, as well as in several US States. The idea is simple and straightforward: if enough public signatures are collected (100,000 in Switzerland, but with our larger electorate 250,000 would seem reasonable) calling for a referendum on an issue then the government is obliged to hold one and to respect the outcome. We should also insist (as recommended by the Neill Committee) that the government remain neutral in any referendum and ensure that both sides are fully able to put their case to the electorate. What could better underline our democratic ideals, our faith in the good judgement of the people, and our desire for a return to majority values? □

George Warwick writes from West London

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A negation of colour: Wyndham Lewis' Paleface

Steven Schwamenfeld looks at the curiously modern preoccupations of a leading Modernist

It is a fact at once surprising and heartening that many of the greatest of the founders of 'revolutionary' literary modernism were men of the Right. Eliot, Pound, Yeats and Lawrence were all accused of being political reactionaries at the same time that they were revolutionising (and revitalising) Western literature. Wyndham Lewis was an author whose significance was in all respects comparable to the abovementioned writers and was one of England's finest painters besides.

Lewis' work was truly revolutionary; his painting largely ignored Western representational traditions and his writing style, though accessible to the layman, was a radical departure from that of the English authors of the Victorian era. Ezra Pound was not hyperbolising when he stated that Lewis was "the only English writer who can be compared to Dostoevsky"¹. And, like Dostoevsky, Lewis found himself utterly opposed to the Leftist zeitgeist that infected the intelligentsia of his era. On one issue in particular Lewis found himself an outcast among the "smart set," those "Revolutionary simpletons" and "millionaire bohemians" whom he so gleefully excoriated; that issue was race and the romanticisation of the coloured races.

Spirit of rebellion

In many ways the political climate of the 1920s was similar to our own. As John Lukacs has recently reaffirmed: "the ideas of the 1960s ... were nothing but exaggerated and sometimes bizarre repetitions of the ideas and fashions of the Twenties"². The Great War had led to disillusionment, a popular spirit of rebellion against all authority. The Twenties also saw the rise of a cult of Youth comparable to that of the 1960s. Lewis fought in the First World War and was himself alienated from the British establishment. He censured business concerns and had very little respect for the titled aristocracy who in no way resembled the aristocracy of merit in which Lewis believed. He quipped "Some relief is necessary from the daily spectacle of those expiring Lions and Eagles, who obviously will never recover from the death blows they dealt each other (foolish beasts and birds) from 1914 to 1918, and all the money they owe our dreary old chums the bankers for that expensive encounter"³.

However, the levelling excesses of Marxism were anathema to him. He also despised the notion of the "noble savage" and was deeply sceptical of the anti-Western, anti-imperialist ideology that sought to make the coloured races appear

the blameless victims of the Europeans. It is interesting to compare the victimology of today to this list concocted by Lewis in his great satire, *The Apes of God*:

"Slipping into the part of agitator, at the service of all oppressed classes—women, miners, children, Jews, horses, servants, negroes, frogs, footballs, carpets during Spring-cleaning, Zoo-reptiles, canaries and so forth — seeing all that might be got-the-better-of and got-even-with thereby — all the husbands his feminism could give horns to — fathers to rob of their disaffected children, riders to be thrown off their rebellious horses, civilized habits to be suppressed — where no man would be willing to serve another — libraries to be bonfired on the ground that the care of books competed with the care of babies, carpets caused to flap round and hit housewives in the eye, footballs to refuse to enter goalposts unless people stopped kicking them, Zoo-reptiles to be caused to bite their keepers, wild nature to be encouraged to flourish at the expense of contriving intelligent man..."

"Lewis believed that the élites of Western society were engaged in an orgy of sentimental self-hatred whose principal victims would not be themselves, but rather poor, working-class Westerners with whom their betters had lost all sympathy"

In 1929 Lewis wrote *Paleface*, a non-fiction work aimed at dissecting the anti-Western, anti-white tendencies of the Twenties. Lewis was not a racialist; rather he was a defender of the culture of the West. *De facto* he realized (as so few contemporary conservatives do) that this made him a defender of white people.

He was sceptical about any claims of biological superiority. Rather: "My position is that I am ready and most anxious to assist all those who suffer from palleness of complexion and all those under a cloud because their grandfathers exterminated the Redskins, or bought and sold cargoes of Blacks. My sense of what is just suffers when I observe some poor honest little palefaced three-pound-a-week clerk or mechanic being bullied by the literary Borzoi big-guns of Mr. Knopf, and told to go and kiss the toe of the nearest

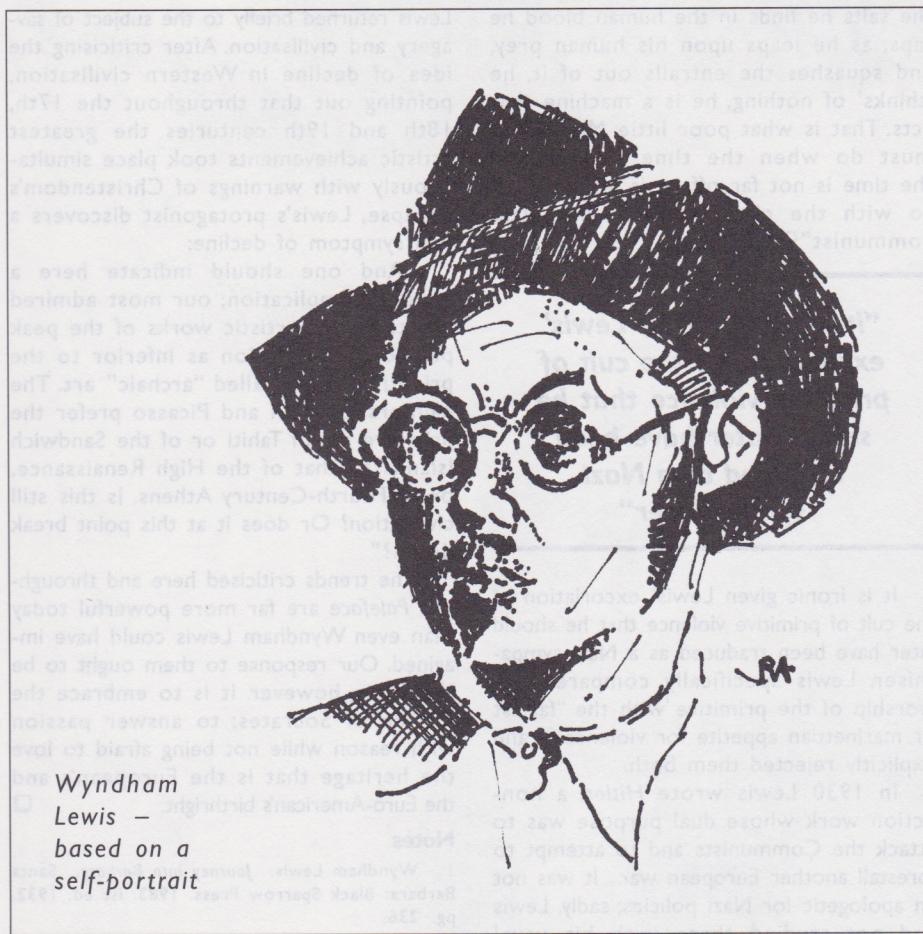
Negress and ask her humbly (as befits the pallid and unpigmented) to be his bride."⁴

Lewis believed that the élites of Western society were engaged in an orgy of sentimental self-hatred whose principal victims would not be themselves, but rather poor, working-class Westerners with whom their betters had lost all sympathy. He observed: "There is no especially sentimental or even misguided movement of emancipation today, anywhere in the world, that the typical Protestant moralist can oppose, on any logical ground. For logically he is committed to every sentimental moral value whatever. I do not of course mean that we should behave like Redskins, but it is not quite pointless to note that were the Redskins where today the Whites are, technically paramount in a mixed population, no 'Colour Question' could possibly have arisen. The supreme beauty significance and limitless superiority of the copper skin, that of Choctaw or Blackfoot, over skins of all other colours, would be a settled axiom and doctrine: no hint of any other point of view would ever pass the severe red lips of the Red legislators and their fellow Redskins. Also, the Redskin being notoriously taciturn, there would not be much even of that: there would be no need of palaver, of course, whatever — In short, it is conscience that makes cowards, or saints, or just sentimental pinky-pinky little Palefaces of us, that is the truth of the matter: and yet we are as harsh as ever with each other, in business and in private life, and there is some chance that we may wipe each other completely out — where, with the disappearance of the White skin, the Colour question would automatically cease."⁵

It was Occidental sentimentalism that had created the myth of coloured virtue; that and self-hatred born out of the War "when all the Whites, in one glorious *auto-da-fé*, for four years did their best to kill and ruin each other."⁶

Lewis used the moralist-philosopher TH Green as an example of the egalitarian absolutist. Green rejected all pleasure and beauty "not incidental to that work of deliverance"⁷ of the oppressed. Ultimately, Lewis anticipated, this attitude would lead to species-egalitarianism. Against it he set a classical ideal of moderation in which the world as it is has a value comparable to that of the righteous utopia.

Lewis examined many of the literary trends of his day. He saw the "Dark Princess" of WFB Dubois as an example of a supposedly anti-racist tract which actually was designed to evoke a racial consciousness among blacks. Dubois'



Wyndham
Lewis –
based on a
self-portrait

work centered around efforts of all the world's non-white peoples to overthrow that "negation of colour," the white race. The litany of anti-white propaganda produced by Alfred Knopf and other publishers was intended to produce a belief in the superiority of the black race and of the primitive itself in art and society. This could have somewhat ironical consequences:

"The White arts that the Paleface has turned away from in order to cultivate these Black arts, were certainly as good as the latter; and all that the 'Afroamerican' has succeeded in supplying is the aesthetic medium of a sort of frantic proletarian subconscious, which is the very negation of those far greater arts, for instance, of other more celebrated Coloured races, such as the Chinese and the Hindu. The Chinese or the Hindu would never have been captivated by nor even paid attention at all to that sort of inferior Black art. But the White has..."⁸

These arts could "be summed up in the word 'jazz'". Lewis was deeply impressed by the graphic and plastic arts of China and India. He recognised that they would be as neglected as the classic works of European culture in a world dominated by the cult of the savage. Lewis recounts a debate he attended between the negro intellectual Alain Locke and American author Lothrop Stoddard. Stoddard gamely defended the colour-line. Locke claimed that black achievements in the arts (jazz, in other words) made the colour-line obsolete. Lewis believed that an objective look at the black achievement in the arts would

actually make Mr Stoddard's argument for him.

It was the complete demoralisation of Western society, a consequence of the Great War, that made the 'jazz age' possible. This was the negation of culture, not a new paradigm:

"It is almost as though the duty of a truly moral man was as much to destroy what he regards as 'great' (or possessed of the enjoyment of the powers and delights of the mind) as to deny himself such enjoyment: and a sentimental value for what is little or ineffective, or merely distant, or incomprehensible, must be eagerly professed".

Lewis described the "natural leaders" of the white race as "outlaws."¹⁰ A white artist interested in producing great work, as opposed to one interested only in producing egalitarian propaganda, was an outcast. The old tradition was dead and all the modern world sought was vile, sensationalist popular art or art in the service of Leftist politics.

Lewis chose three literary figures to be symbols of the age; H L Mencken, D H Lawrence and Sherwood Anderson. Of these Lewis recognised Lawrence as a great artist and thus a fellow "outlaw" – one, however, obsessed with the catastrophic notion of the savage as redeemer. Mencken and Anderson he respected rather less. However, he recognised that their popular influence was tremendous – and corrosive.

Menken popularised the notion of the "poor white" as the perfect Philistine: "Never glad confident morning again, not

for the citizen's of Mr Mencken's republic"¹¹. Mencken's "Americana" was a concerted assault on all American traditions, on any notion of American self-confidence. Yet what did Mr Mencken propose to substitute for the order that he sought not merely to ridicule but to overturn? Negritude? "It is usually a lack of imagination that makes people so blindly, uncritically, susceptible to the 'new'"¹². This is the charge that Lewis levelled against Mencken.

Mencken chose the poorest, weakest members of white American society as his targets: "Mr. Mencken is, I daresay, a shade snobbish about his Kentuckian 'moron'. The ignorance of that moron is the burden of his song. But is that obvious butt as a fact so very much more ridiculous (though entirely innocent of cultural pretensions) than the masses at Saratoga Springs, the Lido, Deauville, and so on... Are 'society' morons, however, fundamentally less ridiculous, mean or irritating than devout and clamorous rustics? I don't believe that they are: they seem to me far more so, and terribly smug into the bargain"¹³.

Mencken's hate of Middle America seemed to stem from an intense desire "to turn the tables upon the 'Allied' war-propagandist", as well. There was no mistaking an "undercurrent of nationalist passion" in Mencken's unrelenting assault on the Anglo-Saxon and his institutions.¹⁴ This, Lewis felt, rather undercut Mencken's claims to intellectual detachment.

D H Lawrence's *Mornings in Mexico* was a work that attempted to convey the consciousness of the Mexican Indian to the European – this, despite Lawrence's own admonition that "the Indian way of consciousness is different from and fatal to our way of consciousness... That is, the life of the Indian, his stream of conscious being, is just death to the White man"¹⁵. So why attempt to convey it? It was, in a word, authentic. To Lawrence, European consciousness had ceased to be so. What Lawrence admired and sought to propagate was a "consciousness of the abdomen"; the Indian in his religious devotions, in his songs, in his daily routine was (to Lawrence) a purely visceral being. Thus, in becoming one with the Indian consciousness the "hated mind or intellect" was superseded.¹⁶

Lawrence had encountered fishermen in the Outer Hebrides who almost reached the Indian ideal; however they still saw themselves as "human and outside the great naturalistic influences"¹⁷. Only complete mindlessness would suit Lawrence.

Likewise, Sherwood Anderson, in his *Dark Laughter*, sought to celebrate the primitive communism of the American negro. Anderson rhapsodised about a crew of negro dockworkers: "The bodies of all the men running up and down the landing-stage were one body. One could not be distinguished from another. They were lost in each other. Could the bodies of people be so lost in each other?"¹⁸

Continued overleaf

In another story (*The Triumph of the Egg*), Anderson's narrator states directly "I wish I was a nigger." This was the message, not that the blacks should be educated or even integrated into American society. Rather European-Americans should reject their work ethic and their sense of individuality and be blacks. When Norman Mailer wrote the *White Negro* he was merely reiterating a view already common in the 1920s.

Lewis assailed the notion of redemption through the "mystical communistic Pan of the Primitive Man" directly:

"I find the average White European (such as Chekhov depicted) often exceedingly ridiculous, no doubt, but much more interesting than the average Hopi, or the average Negro. I would rather have the least man that thinks, than the average man that squats and drums and drums, with 'sightless', 'soulless' eyes: I would rather have an ounce of human 'consciousness' than a universe full of 'abdominal' afflatus and hot, unconscious, 'soulless', mystical throbbing — These few must suffice to indicate the orientation of my attitude in this part of the debate"¹⁹.

Lewis chose as champion to battle the dark demon of the "romantic-white imagination" (for it was the romanticisation of non-whites rather than non-whites themselves that Lewis saw as the enemy) the white *daimon*, of Socrates.²⁰ This is simply reason, the classical ideal which has characterised Western culture's greatest accomplishments in the past and that is its sole hope for the future.

Lewis concludes his book with several perceptive observations. First, he dispels the romantic attacks on modernity as a "machine age", by pointing out that every age in which man shaped his environment was a "machine age."²¹ Certainly the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Sumer, China and India were. He also decries the cult of violence inherent in the embrace of all things primitive: "A belief (it reduces itself to that) that man cannot progress beyond the savage or the animal: that when he tries to (as the White European has done, as the Hellene did) he becomes in the mass ineffective and ridiculous: therefore, that the sooner he turns about, and retraces his steps until he is once more like the Huns of Attila, or any community whose main business in life is to 'smite hip and thigh' some rival community — or like the plain unvanquished man-eating tiger, or the wild boar, the better. The philosophy required will run generally as follows: The tiger is 'ruthless'; the Borneo head-hunter used to hunt a man's head as we go out with a butterfly net: those are the true models for you, Mr Citizen! To the 'Tiger burning bright' the political propagandist points enthusiastically: about that apocalyptic beast there is no nonsense, he is 'frankly an animal', without any sentimental squeamishness, he frankly enjoys

the salts he finds in the human blood he taps; as he leaps upon his human prey, and squashes the entrails out of it, he 'thinks' of nothing, he is a machine that acts. That is what poor little Mr Citizen must do when the time comes. And the time is not far off he is warned: and so with the class-war and the little communist"²².

"It is ironic given Lewis' excoriation of the cult of primitive violence that he should later have been traduced as a Nazi sympathiser"

It is ironic given Lewis' excoriation of the cult of primitive violence that he should later have been traduced as a Nazi sympathiser. Lewis specifically compared the worship of the primitive with the "fascist or marinettian appetite for violence"²³ and explicitly rejected them both.

In 1930 Lewis wrote *Hitler*, a non-fiction work whose dual purpose was to attack the Communists and to attempt to forestall another European war. It was not an apologetic for Nazi policies; sadly, Lewis had not studied these with his usual acumen. He then saw Hitler as primarily anti-communist. In the mid-Thirties he continued to point out the relative bloodlessness (until then) of the Nazi revolution when compared to the millions murdered by Stalin. It was only in the late Thirties, after Munich and Kristallnacht, that Lewis completely repudiated Hitler. In a 1939 monograph entitled *The Jews — Are they Human?* Lewis denounced Hitlerian anti-Semitism. He lauded the artistic and scientific accomplishments of the Jews and called for toleration and integration: "the westernised Jew is a highly civilised person — 'the human being *par excellence* perhaps'"²⁴. He congratulated the British nation for its unique sense of tolerance while describing Germany as "a nation of fiery pastors gone pagan — and military to the marrow — but still full of gothic superstition"²⁵. Thus a European nation had followed the example of the primitives. An Asian nation (Japan) had done the same. After 1945 similar atavistic ideologies would sweep the non-European world.

In his final novel, *Self-Condemned*,

Lewis returned briefly to the subject of savagery and civilisation. After criticising the idea of decline in Western civilisation, pointing out that throughout the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries the greatest artistic achievements took place simultaneously with warnings of Christendom's collapse, Lewis's protagonist discovers a real symptom of decline:

"And one should indicate here a further complication: our most admired artists regard artistic works of the peak period of civilisation as inferior to the primitive or so called "archaic" art. The painters Gauguin and Picasso prefer the primitive art of Tahiti or of the Sandwich Islands to that of the High Renaissance, or of Fourth-Century Athens. Is this still civilisation? Or does it at this point break down?"

The trends criticised here and throughout *Paleface* are far more powerful today than even Wyndham Lewis could have imagined. Our response to them ought to be the same, however. It is to embrace the *daimon* of Socrates; to answer passion with reason while not being afraid to love the heritage that is the European's and the Euro-American's birthright. □

Notes

1. Wyndham Lewis. *Journey into Barbary*. Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press. 1983. 1st ed. 1932. pg. 236.
- 1a. John Lukacs. *A Thread of Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. pg. 480.
2. Wyndham Lewis. *Journey*. pg. 24.
3. Wyndham Lewis. *The Apes of God*. Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press. 1981. 1st ed. 1930. pg. 454.
4. Wyndham Lewis. *Paleface*. London: Chatto & Windus. 1929. pgs. 3-4. In a letter to C.H. Prentice dated 4/26/29 Lewis wrote: "It is unlikely that *Paleface* will be taken by an American publisher — the Colour question is a very delicate one in the USA (I have learnt in my visits to NY) and can only be approached with great sentimentality. Anything resembling common sense is greatly disliked. So do not trouble to send a copy over there — no one will pirate it anyhow". *Paleface* was never published in the USA except in some private limited editions.
5. ibid. pgs. 5-6. 6. ibid. pg. 126.
7. ibid. pg. 11. 8. ibid. pg. 65.
9. ibid. pg. 78. 10. ibid. pg. 81.
11. ibid. pg. 113. 12. ibid. pg. 120.
13. ibid. pg. 136. 14. ibid. pg. 134.
15. ibid. pg. 95. 16. ibid. pg. 177.
17. ibid. pgs. 175-176. 18. ibid. pg. 221. .
19. ibid. pg. 196. 20. ibid. pgs. 147-148.
21. ibid. pg. 250. 22. ibid. pgs. 240 and 245.
23. ibid. pg. 145.
24. Wyndham Lewis. *The Jews - Are they Human?* London: Allen and Unwin. 1939. pg. 110.
25. Wyndham Lewis. *Self Condemned*. Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press. 1983. pgs. 103-104. 1st ed. 1954.

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Nicholas Budgen

1937 – 1998

James Lewis pays tribute to a Conservative iconoclast

Nicholas Budgen was a soldier, a barrister, an amateur jockey and a farmer, as well as a Conservative Member of Parliament. It was in the parliamentary battle that he won his spurs and found fame upon the national stage. He will be remembered as a rebel within his party, who lost the whip as a consequence of defying the government, just as earlier he had forfeited a real chance of high office by his principled stand on the question of Northern Ireland. Here was that rare breed in the political field – a Conservative rebel.

As Britain seems inexorably to lose her former eminence and even independence, and sinks into provincial status without a currency of her own, or courts that are supreme, or even a meaningful crown, and as all this comes upon us like night following day, we look back not just at our memories but also at our men. Alas, the illustrious are now beginning to pass away. Enoch Powell died in February 1998, and now we have lost Nicholas Budgen.

Powell died full of years and laden with honours; but Nick, who succeeded Powell as MP for Wolverhampton South West, was cruelly struck down by liver cancer when he still had many good years before him. He was only 60. Before diagnosis, he had decided to pursue with vigour those causes which had made up his life, the chief one being Britain's independence and constitutional integrity.

Nicholas William Budgen was born on 3 November 1937. When he was four, his father, Captain GN Budgen, was killed at Tobruk. Nick was educated at St Edward's School, Oxford, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. As one of the last intake of National Service men, he was commissioned, in April 1957, into the 1st Battalion of the North Staffordshire Regiment and was posted to Germany for the next eighteen months. Here he became a keen rider in army steeplechases, and helped to set up and run a regimental Saddle Club. Over a period of 25 years he rode in point-to-point and hunter chases. He won many races, both on mounts provided for him and on his own horses, the best of which was Mr Woodpecker. He was brave in the saddle and his enthusiasm and determination meant that he was offered rides on horses that lesser riders might have turned down out of fear. Inevitably he had many falls.

He loved fox hunting and would ride ruthlessly and even recklessly over the best of the Meynell country in the Midlands. He had a rapport with horses, and his contemporaries testified to his ability to give a young horse confidence over difficult country. Horses and the Army were his abiding in-



Nick Budgen campaigning at the 1992 General Election

terests. In conversation he became animated on many topics, but upon soldiering he spoke with particular lustre.

He was called to the Bar by Grays Inn in 1962 and practised on the Midland and Oxford circuits from chambers in Birmingham. Nick was a fellow member of both the Birmingham Bar and the local Bow Group, with Kenneth Clarke. In 1966, they jointly wrote a Bow Group pamphlet entitled *Immigration, Race and Politics*, which called for controls and language tests for immigrants.

He fought his first election in 1970, opposing the Sports Minister Denis Howell at Small Heath and cutting back his majority. But his forthright opposition to the inflationary monetary policies of Edward Heath's government meant that he subsequently failed to win selection for three safe seats. In February 1974, virtually on the brink of nomination day, he succeeded Enoch Powell, after Powell had refused to take part in what he termed a "fraudulent election".

He was appointed an assistant government whip in 1981, resigning in May 1982 to fight the proposals for a Northern Ireland Assembly, which he branded a "talking shop". Subsequently he became a vociferous critic of the Government's line on Ulster.

Throughout the debates on the Maastricht Bill, it was Nick Budgen who ensured that Conservative opposition to the legislation was well-supported and well-briefed. In November 1994 he was one of eight MPs who had the party whip withdrawn over their refusal to vote for the European Finance Bill. There were

rumblings in his constituency about deselection. These were countered by the Prime Minister himself. His last Commons battle, in 1996, was to defend gun owners against pressure for an outright ban on handguns after the Dunblane tragedy. It took boundary changes and a vast national swing to Labour to oust him from Wolverhampton South West in May 1997. He returned to his chambers in Birmingham and directed his considerable political and polemical skills towards writing and broadcasting.

His demeanour, unlike that of many politicians, invited access and for someone of such fixed principles and considerable experience, he could be remarkably flexible. He was never snubbing or abrupt (although he could be quick moving when his attention was demanded elsewhere). You knew where you stood with him. If you canvassed a certain view or opinion he would listen and say "Yes, I agree". You then had the green light. On the other hand, you might get "Well, I don't know about that". Here was the red light. But it was either red or green; there was no amber.

Hospitality in the orthodox sense was not so forthcoming. This was due to the fact that much of his income was bespoke. He bought land that he could ill afford, and was hard pressed to meet the demands of mortgagees. But he was not a mean-minded man, as the *Times* inaccurately hinted in its obituary. He was frugal, but his frugality was applied first and foremost to himself. He ate little and drank less, and his domestic arrangements were spartan.

He possessed a soldier's skill at ambush, in print as well as in the House. Here is an example from a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*: "Lord Hurd appears to accept the necessity of fixed exchange rates as being inarguable. He writes: 'Having served in the Cabinet for 11 years, I cannot recall any moment at which I felt I was exercising any influence on behalf of the people of my constituency of West Oxfordshire over the conduct of the pound'. Really! Did he not support the entry of the pound into the ERM?"

Both the roles of Member of Parliament and unorthodox but brilliant horseman were the make and character of the man. Yet I cannot get away from a different and abiding impression of him in the last few days of his life. He was failing fast during the middle of October, and by the time he was admitted to Ward 6 of Stafford General Hospital it was obvious, not least to Nick himself, that he was mortally stricken.

No word of complaint escaped his lips. In his bearing and through such utterances as he was capable of, he projected to his visitors and nurses an image of life and interest. He now faced us with the bearing of a soldier, and a brave soldier at that. It was as a soldier that he had been trained and it was with a soldier's courage that he looked death squarely in the face.

James Lewis is a London-based journalist, and was a friend and professional colleague of Nicholas Budgen

Restoring Britain's nationhood

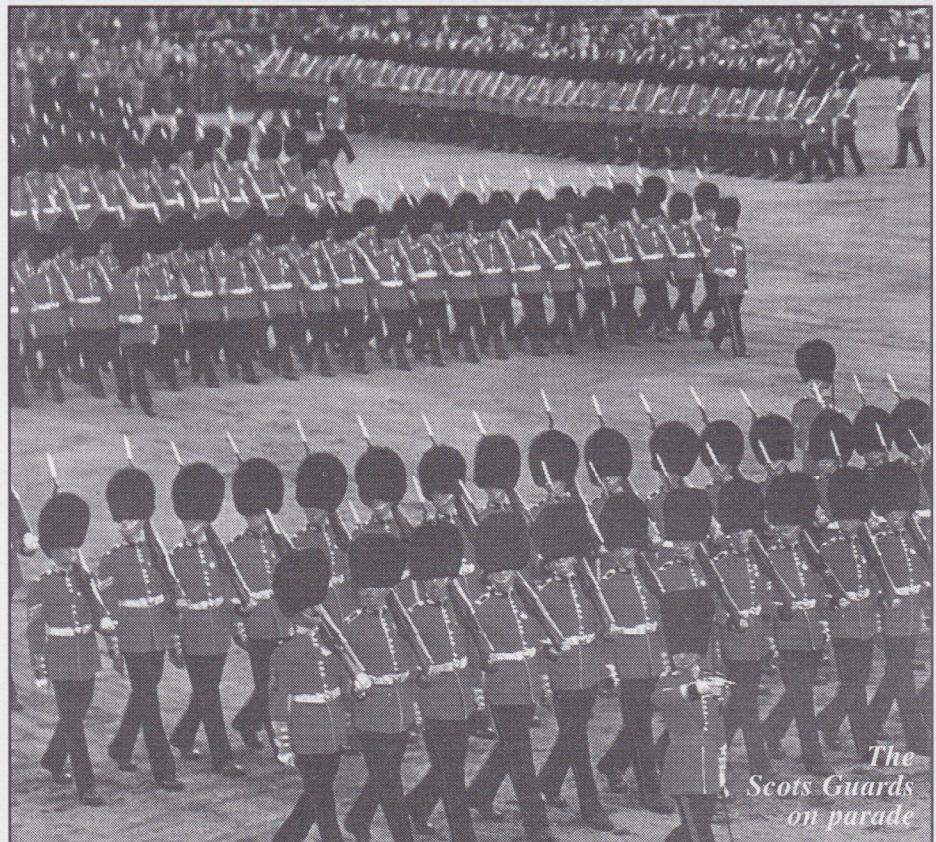
Dr Andrew Fear argues that we need to recover our sense of nationality to avert statist coercion

Today's society is one which has seen the rapid erosion, almost to the point of disappearance, over the last fifty years of the notion of authority. If anything, this is a phenomenon which accelerated rather than declined under the previous Conservative government. Yet authority is the vital cement for society. Our word derives from the Latin *auctoritas*. For the Romans, *auctoritas* was the embodiment of a society's values which naturally commanded respect from the population. Its opposite was *potentia*, or brute force. In modern parlance, the absence of authority means that we pass from civil society, where communal standards are accepted by consent, to the police state, where instead of collective values it is merely coercion which holds a community together.

The reason for authority's decline and fall, like that of the Roman Empire, is not due to any one single reason. Nevertheless it has a core cause: the erosion of the concept of nationhood. It has become a cliché in political thought to speak of nation-states where the nation comprises the people of any one country and the state the apparatus that governs them. Nationhood, however, is not a mere aggregation of individuals, but exists only when those gathered together feel themselves part of a common body which possesses an extension in time as well as space. For conservatives, therefore, the statement that "there is no such thing as society, only individuals and families" is a profoundly mistaken slogan: the idea it embodies belongs not to conservative thought, but that of its great rival, liberalism. For a conservative, the nation should be an extension of the family. The metaphor is apt. Nationality is ascriptive – one cannot choose one's nationality any more than one can choose one's parents – yet one's nationality, like one's parents, remains a vital, ineradicable part of personal identity. But for liberalism, centred as it is on individual rational choice, this is anathema.

GK Chesterton noted that one of the redeeming features of family life was that it brought and bound together for a shared purpose those who would never choose to associate with each other in different circumstances. Families, at their best, preserve individualism while providing an overarching sense of identity and obligation which provides a moral brake to violent assertions of individual claims – claims which without such restraint could be legitimately pushed to extremes or suppressed only by violence. Nations do the same.

Unlike in liberalism, where the demand for rights is one way, conservative thought



*The
Scots Guards
on parade*

requires there to be a dialectic between the claims of the individual and those of the collectivities to which he belongs. Unfortunately, the intellectual tenor of the age is that of the individualist liberal. "The right to choose" is the slogan, which, along with its handmaiden, the unreflecting acceptance of moral relativism, underlies virtually all political rhetoric of the present day. Nations, we are told, are artificial constructions and traditions mere inventions, often devised for sinister reasons. Both are idols to be at least denigrated or better still smashed, and smashed with a righteous sense of ideological duty. Burke's invisible chain of belonging which binds and enfranchises equally the quick, dead and those yet to be born is either vaporised in a puff of abstract logic or snapped and discarded.

The diminution of authority is an inevitable consequence of this course of action. If those in power are no longer part of a project common to both them and the governed, and the governed have been continually told that they have every right to enforce their individual wishes against other groups, it is inevitable that clashes will ensue. The recent phenomenon of 'direct action' in political life is a symptom of this problem. Those taking part feel alienated from those enforcing the law; they sense no bond of commonality or reciprocity with

others. In short, for them there is no nation, only a distant and hostile apparatus of power – the state: anonymous, faceless, and lacking all legitimacy. Instead of national loyalty, we are now faced with resentment towards the state. Yet man, as Aristotle noted, is a social animal. So group feeling has not evaporated, but simply been displaced from its natural home. The result is the rise of tribalism, sometimes based on regionalism, sometimes on 'free association' groups such as sexual deviancy.

The consequences of such social fragmentation are severe. Democracy, "the rule of the people", becomes impossible if there is no *demos* or people to rule. Ancient Athens, the most democratic of ancient states, was also the most jealous of its citizenship and a place where social pressure to conform to the norms of society was intense. This is not the paradox that it seems to those brought up in the tradition of liberalism, but perfectly natural. The Athenians recognised that if democracy was to work and to command authority, there needed to be and, as importantly, be perceived to be, a single people who could be said to possess power, not merely a section of the population enforcing its sectarian will and interests on others.

When there is no acceptance of the legitimacy of law as the will of the commu-

nity, its enforcement necessarily becomes more difficult and more brutal. The increase in the difficulty of enforcement leads to a twofold problem. On the one hand, there is a greater temptation to flout the law as scorn for its weakness increases; on the other, the necessary increase in legislation and the brutality needed for effective policing leads to the reinforcement of the sentiment of civic alienation. The outcome is a vicious downward spiral of not merely physical, but also spiritual lawlessness. The Argentine writer Borges wrote despairingly of his nation's "poor individualism", commenting that as it was impossible for an Argentine to see anything other than a distant abstraction in the state, a retreat into ineffectual solipsism was inevitable. We have cause to be concerned about the 'Argentinisation' of Britain.

A substantial amount of blame for this state of affairs lies with the Conservative government of 1979-1997. Its attack on the previous Labour government was couched primarily in liberal, not conservative tones. Instead of presenting socialism as a sectarian dogma and hence hostile to the interests of the nation as a whole, state and nation were confused and Conservatives identified themselves as defenders of the individual and his rights against the predations of the state. The end outcome of this liberal rhetoric has been to leave Britain as a state lacking nationhood. This absurd 'all or nothing' approach has also deprived those who feel instinctively that the disintegration of the nation is wrong of an idiom through which they can articulate those feelings.

This process of what might be termed intellectual ethnic cleansing has been made worse by the constant assertion, contrary to any dispassionate contemplation of the facts, that Britain is a "multicultural" society, akin, for example, to the artificial state of Yugoslavia. Here the slip of rhetoric amongst liberals from multiracial to multicultural is important. It is quite possible for a nation to be multiracial and yet be at an important level monocultural. The best example of this in the ancient world was the Roman Empire and in the modern world it is the United States with its motto of *e pluribus unum*, "one out of many". Immigrants came from around the world to the USA and were then given a unifying identity to which all could relate. Recently the trend has been to reverse this process of national integration. Americans now are hyphenated-Americans and loyalty to sectional grouplets rather than the nation as a whole is encouraged. The social disintegration this has caused is there for all to see. The same danger threatens here at home, for the natural conclusion to be drawn from the rhetoric of "multiculturalism" is that Britain is not a nation, but merely a geographical container where the sole duty of government is to act as a value-free (non-judgmental) would be the way enthusiasts would express the concept)

referee negotiating a precarious peace between the warring factions within its area of jurisdiction. Not only does this leave our country vulnerable to implosion and a reversion to the Heptarchy or worse, but there are plenty of external forces willing to help the process of disintegration along. The most important of these is the European Union, ever eager to Balkanise into rootless "regions" and hence dominate the historic nations of Europe.

Permissible divergence

What is needed now therefore is the conquest of the state and the restoration of nationhood to unite our United Kingdom. The beginning of such a regeneration is to deny the platitude that this country is "a multicultural society" and further to deny that small minority groupings have a right to enforce their views on society as a whole. In fact, those who shout loudest may well not represent anyone other than themselves. It is not even that the degree of total parity for all demanded by multiculturalists is necessary for minorities to flourish. Many groups who have not been discovered by the rights industry for whom, like witch-finders, detection of evil is necessary for their own survival, cheerfully continue their communal practices and traditions which lie happily beneath the umbrella of the national project, rather than being set up in opposition to it. Divergence from the norms of society, provided it is not taken to excess, does not present a problem for a nation, provided that there is an acceptance that such norms do in fact exist and that they will rightly define the outlook of society as a whole. All that is required is to return to the idea that tolerance requires give and take on both sides (ie, a realisation that majorities as well as minorities have rights) and is not simply a slogan which facilitates unending demands for "recognition", and usually money, from small vocal groups.

Other steps are also necessary. A major one would be to reclaim British history from those who wish to appropriate it for their own ends. In recent years two trends have been all too common in the teaching of history. One is the denigration of national achievements. Whereas we were once taught, and rightly, to be proud of our ancestors, now all too often we are informed that we should look on them with shame. Worse than this, though, is the consignment to oblivion of the mainstream historical events and figures who defined our nation in favour of the obscure and marginal. Increasingly we live in a land of forgotten heroes whose people have not so much rejected their past, but have never been given the facts to make a judgement. A nation oblivious of its history loses its very sense of being. It is not just an abstract notion that is lost when historical knowledge is absent. Those without it cannot see how the past reaches out in churches, castles and battlefields, and unites us to our forbears.

Much of modern education is not merely malicious dogma, it is theft: our young people are being deprived, and deliberately, of their birthright. It should be a major conservative aim to restore it to them.

"Much of modern education is not merely malicious dogma, it is theft: our young people are being deprived, and deliberately, of their birthright"

Both these steps, like many others, demand a break with the individualist rhetoric which has come to infect Conservative thinking. They require, for one thing, that governments should not be mere referees, ie be simply the apparatus of a state, but take an active part in promoting the values of the majority. Without asserting that what is being defended is a nation, an entity with its own unique place in the universal scheme of things, criticisms of liberalism are in vain. It is only by appealing to a collective body with rights of its own that any attack on the liberal relativist status quo can avoid the charge that complaints against it are merely one more individual opinion worth as much, and as little, as any other. Such a riposte cuts at the heart of the neo-liberal rhetoric that Conservatives have been only too eager to use in recent years.

If we want to save our nation, we must first have the courage to assert, and assert vigorously, that it exists. □

Dr Andy Fear writes from Staffordshire

The HJ Eysenck Memorial Trust

Trustees: Dr Sybil Eysenck, Dr Irene Martin and Dr Gisli Gudjonsson
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A Memorial Fund, with charitable status, has been set up in the memory of Professor HJ Eysenck, for a Postgraduate Research Scholarship in the field of personality and individual differences. We will need more funds to enable us to grant a worthwhile scholarship to promising students. Any gift you can send will be greatly appreciated.

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The Bill of Wrongs

Marek Racho says that America's famous constitutional Amendments appear to have been amended

In case any Englishman wishes to visit the United States, it might be useful for him to know some of the customs of the country.

One of American's quainter superstitions is their love of their "Bill of Rights". Unfortunately, an Englishman, full of beef and commonsense, might be inclined to misread that splendid and venerable document. For the benefit of *Right NOW!* readers, therefore, I offer this interpretation of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, based on the most up-to-date sources and the most sophisticated Supreme Court reasonings, and simplified and clarified for the English visitor.

Article I. Congress shall make no law establishing an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Americans call this the "First Amendment", although most of them wouldn't recognise the text if it were nailed to their foreheads. If one American cuts off his own leg and brandishes it in a public place, a library for instance, another American can always be found to cheer and shout "First Amendment!" and "free speech" before the blood has spattered the bookshelves. Here is what the First Amendment really means, according to Supreme Court geniuses like Willy Brennan, Thurgood Marshall and little Ms Sandra Day O'Connor:

Clause 1. Congress shall establish secular humanist absolutist liberalism as the one true religion of the United States. Congress shall endeavour to outlaw the Christian religion wherever it impinges upon the state religion. Christian prayers, images, hymns, Christmas carols, and, of course, Bibles are to be banned (except in churches and crazy fundamentalist TV stations making huge amounts of money). A picture of Jesus in a school classroom shall be understood to have established a religion contrary to secular humanism. If the picture is dunked in urine or wrapped in a condom it may be exempt (see Clause 3). Other religions are generally allowed, especially when they can be used as sticks to beat the Christian. During Christmas (in America, a capitalist holiday, a sacrifice to Mammon) manger scenes are banned, but Hannukah candles and black "Kwanzaa" paraphernalia are encouraged. Warning: although blasphemy and anti-religious humour is common in America, it is only considered funny if it is at the expense of Christians, especially Catholics (see Article IX).

Clause 2. Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech. Strangers to American shores might imagine that freedom of speech means freedom to speak or write. This is not true. Speech means whatever is not spoken or written. Photographs

when used by white people. (NB: If you are white, it is inadvisable to eat watermelon in a public place; although the action, not being spoken, is considered to be free speech under Clause 2, Clause 4 determines it to be racist speech, and therefore not protected.)

Clause 5. Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of all citizens to play loud amplified music until their neighbours kill themselves.

Clause 6. Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of the press. The press shall be free to print as many salacious pictures, libels and scandals as they care to. Whoever can afford a good lawyer can print anything. No-one has a right to a personal life if the press chooses to publicise it. Your wedding night belongs to the *National Enquirer*.

Clause 7. The freedom of large numbers of drunken half-wits to form monster processions and block the traffic shall not be restricted in any way.

Clause 8. Anyone calling themselves a minority group may petition the government for a redress of grievances by rioting. (NB: It may be recalled that Thomas Jefferson, in his *Presidential Papers* and the posthumously-published *Notes on Orgasms in Our Time* wrote that "The First Amendment is to be a safeguard protecting pornographers, artists and bum-bandits of the future... my wife used regularly to hold conversations with me by dripping pig-dung onto her person... Washington ran around naked shouting 'God is dead'... bloody marvellous". James Madison, in *Hot, Funky and Federal* (1794) was more specific: "You wanna make a quick buck? Leave a dead cat in someone's mailbox and call yourself an artist... porno's pretty good too but it needs start-up capital... it's all in the First Amendment, check it out, my man". John Adams, in his autobiography *Yo Rock, Stick Me* (1819) tells this story: "A friend came to me in sad complaint that his television show was close to cancellation. I immediately advised him to have his scriptwriters ornament each episode with f***s, s***s and c***s, as well as close-up rape scenes and a dismemberment. Well of course the ratings exploded. I like to think of it as another little triumph of the First Amendment".

After this Amendment, the subtle and complex bulwark of the American bulls*** industry, the other nine Amendments will be found to be relatively simple.

Article II. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.



of dismembered cadavers, jars of urine, men with bullwhips up their anuses, or bimbos smearing themselves with Haagen-Dazs ice cream are speech. (Note: in some cases, freedom of speech actually involves words – see Clause 4).

Clause 3. Congress resolves that only artists and minorities are to be allowed absolute and unrestricted freedom of speech. Whatever is deemed to be art or "artistic" is beyond all moral or criminal laws – as long as the art is not considered insulting to minorities, feminists or homosexuals.

Clause 4. Congress resolves that educational institutions may not dismiss incompetent minority teachers. If a professor states that Julius Caesar was a Zulu prince, this constitutes freedom of speech and must be nurtured at all costs. Conversely, a non-minority teacher may not make any statement (however factual) that might offend the tender sensibilities of any minority group. An example might include: "The great classical composers were predominantly German and male". Such statements are not protected, nor are words such as "housewife", "faggot", "normal" or "watermelon"

A well-armed criminal population being necessary for national security, only criminals will be allowed easy access to guns.

Article III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

The government shall breed up angry illegitimate children as cheap riot squads, soldiers and cultural revolutionaries, to be quartered at the public cost wherever the Department of Housing and Urban Development pleases. This applies to crack-addicted, homeless maniacs as well.

Article IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

The Attorney-General may use the FBI and the ATF as stormtroopers to search and destroy places she doesn't like the look of. So may petty judges with a grudge, or policemen with nothing better to do. An American's home is certainly not his castle. (NB: My more observant readers will have noticed the "she". According to Ma and Pa Clinton and their gang, the Attorney Generalship is a post intended for women of the female persuasion. After having two claimants rejected – one of whom actually looked like a woman and was, well, rather pretty – Pa Clinton found something that was only distantly female – a lizard-skinned six foot tall lesbian. I'll take any odds that the next Attorney General will be a horrifying and pompous black woman, picked only for her skin colour.)

Article V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Clause 1. No celebrity, minority or cute rich kid from California shall be held responsible for any capital crime.

Clause 2. If a minority group disagrees with the verdict in a criminal trial, that verdict shall be overturned, and the case retried until a verdict is reached in accord-

ance with the wishes of the minority. Otherwise they will burn down a city.

Clause 3. Any citizen making use of his property contrary to the dictates of the government shall be deprived of his property and his liberty. Drain swamps at your peril. Do not step on protected flies. This means YOU.

Clause 4. Only heterosexual, white males may be deprived of liberty or property. Property owners, businesses, military academies, fraternities etc may not freely associate with whomsoever they choose. Only minorities and women may do this. A white business or fraternity is discriminatory; a black one is laudable. An all-male military academy is an example of vicious bigotry; a college lesbians' co-operative is a powerful role-model for women.

Article VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Clause 1. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy trial by the media.

Clause 2. In sexual harassment suits, the accused male is guilty. In most cases, it is unnecessary to inform him of the nature and cause of the accusation, and he need not be confronted by any witnesses against him.

Clause 3. In racial suits, the guilty party may be found easily. It is the white guy.

Article VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

In suits at common law, the lawyers get everything.

Article VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Clause 1. In personal injury suits, excessive fines shall be imposed on those who have nothing to do with the injury. In a recent case of splendid American justice, a woman who was scalded because she positioned a cup of hot coffee in her lap while driving sued the restaurant chain that sold her the coffee. She received US\$3 million.

Clause 2. Excessive fines are also to be imposed in cases where there is no injury,

but where the complainant is black. This is called 'paying the Danegeld'. At Citibank's Wall Street offices in New York, when some white workers sent each other e-mail jokes about "ebonics" ("black" English, which Afrocentric professors are – I'm sorry, "be" – trying to have recognised as a language equivalent to Shakespeare's), the white workers were sacked (see Article VI, Clause 3) and two black workers – who hadn't even seen the jokes – are now suing Citibank for US\$100 million damages.

Clause 3. Jail is a cruel and unusual punishment. Therefore, prison conditions must be more pleasant than life on the outside. Criminals are entitled to a law degree, fornication, cable TV, pornography (see First Amendment), free medical care, body-building equipment and the use of a gym.

Clause 4. No criminal need serve his full prison term. Murderers, rapists and violent offenders must be paroled as soon as possible. It's not their fault, it's society's fault, we're all guilty.

Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

All rights in the Constitution that affect any minority group shall be construed so as to deny and disparage the rights of everybody else (especially if "everybody else" is a Christian or a heterosexual white male).

Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Clause 1. The Constitution delegates all rights to the federal government, the Supreme Court and the United Nations. The individual States can go to the devil.

Clause 2. The United States shall be ruled by dictatorial fiat of the judiciary. Tyrannical petty judges with little common law and no commonsense, bloated with conceit, shall hand down decisions in accordance with the state religion – absolute liberalism.

Clause 3. The Bill of Rights does not mean what it says. It means whatever the Supreme Court says it means.

Clause 4. The Supreme Court reserves the right to deconstruct the Constitution. □

Marek Racho, a *Right NOW!* contributing editor, writes from New York

***Right Now!* wins literary award**

We are delighted to announce that an article written for *Right Now!*, 'In Memoriam Arthur Head', by our New York contributing editor Marek Racho (*RN* 13, October 1996) has won the Queen's English Society "Best New Writing" award. Our thanks to the Society and our congratulations to Marek on this notable achievement.

The new aristocracy

Robert Henderson warns of the rise of a new international mandarin class

Quietly and almost unobserved, a new aristocracy has been evolving for the past two centuries. This evolution has reached the stage where the members of this élite, like the mediæval nobility, have sympathy for their own class anywhere and contempt and unconcern for the mass of people everywhere. Their power is increasing by bounds. They seek to extend it ever more across national boundaries. Their loyalty is to their class, not their country.

Who are the members of this new nobility? They fall into two groups. The dominant group is drawn from the upper reaches of the ruling élites of the ostensibly democratic states of the West. The subordinate group is formed by the super rich in the Second and Third Worlds. The latter are to a degree the clients of the Western élites.

This new élite is profoundly dangerous, for after a century and a half of the nation state standing dominant in the West, political fashion is hot-footing it towards the supranational. This is of fundamental importance because the weak have only ever exercised significant control over the powerful where a coherent sense of community has existed together with a sharply defined political authority. Empires and federations containing diverse racial and cultural identities are the enemy of popular control, because their heterogeneity ensures that there is no single national focus of popular dissent and provides ruling élites with the opportunity to exercise power through a policy of divide and rule. It is a sovereign fact that representative government elected on a broad franchise only occurred after the rise of the nation state.

In Britain, we see the consequences of supranationalism most obviously in the ever more public impotence of our government in the face of Brussels. But that impotence is just the tip of a very dirty political iceberg. Throughout the West, such meaningful popular political control as has been developed in the past two hundred years is being steadily removed from electorates. Why is this happening?

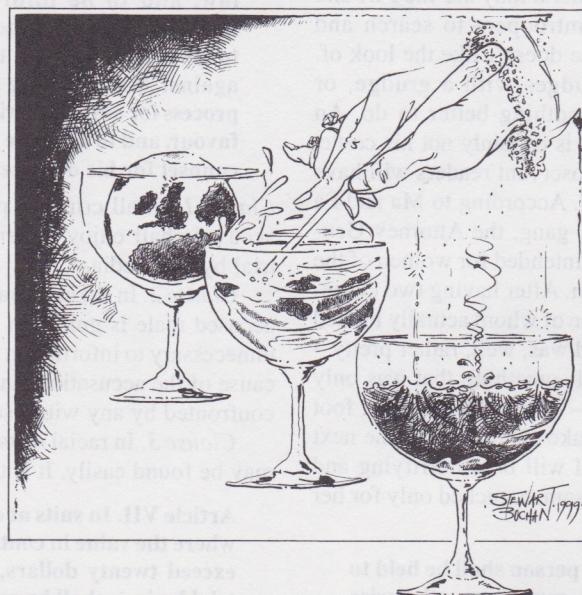
The general answer is that ruling élites are immensely durable. Individuals may fall from grace, but ruling élites as a class mostly do not; rather, they evolve. Thus in our own time we have seen the rulers of the communist bloc effortlessly transmuted into the controllers of supposed new democracies.

Modern ostensible democracies are in fact elective oligarchies, that is, the mass of the people are offered the chance to vote for representatives drawn from a very

restricted group of people. That restriction applies regardless of the type of voting system or the strength of party. In Britain, with its strong party system and constituency-based representation, the elector is offered the choice of two parties. In Germany, the electorate may effectively vote only for a coalition. In the USA, the enfranchised choose only from those able to command the considerable amounts of money needed to conduct campaigns. In every case a small élite controls elections by controlling access to the media and the electoral process and, most importantly, by controlling the selection of candidates to stand under mainstream political banners. The practical result is that those standing with any hope of success are those with a big party label or, where party

trol for two reasons. The first is the fact that money, political power, the experience of exercising authority, superior education and social status go a long way to preserving the position of élites as a class under most circumstances. The exceptions – which are only partial because of the ability of élites to move themselves and their capital abroad – are instances such as the treatment of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in Soviet Russia and the French aristocracy after the Revolution.

The second reason is the corruption of democratic aspirations from within. Early in this century, the German sociologist Robert Michels described a social phenomenon which he named the Iron Law of Oligarchy. Michels saw that institutions ostensibly dedicated to furthering the



is weak, the backing of political coalitions. The past two centuries have seen the power of Western élites mitigated, but the élites have never lost control.

To understand exactly how successful élites have been in retaining control, let us take England as an example. The historian, Lewis Napier, calculated that Eighteenth Century England was controlled by roughly 200 families. I suspect that even today the figure is no more than 1,000 families. Consider who actually makes the decisions and engages in the executive actions which dramatically affect our lives. There is the PM, who is effectively a monarch whilst in power. There is the Cabinet. There are a couple of dozen senior civil servants. A few dozen men control our media. There are the leaders of the armed forces and senior policemen. There are perhaps two hundred nationally important businessmen. There are the very rich. And that is it.

The élites have been able to retain con-

interests of the masses, such as trade unions and political parties with democratic aims, rapidly degenerated into self-serving oligarchies. This occurred because the elected leaders and officers of the institutions were invariably driven by self-interest to develop ends which were antagonistic towards the interests of the grassroots members, while the bureaucratisation of the institution rendered grassroots members increasingly powerless to prevent the betrayal of the institution's ostensible ends. The extent of the betrayal in each instance is debatable: the fact that it has invariably occurred is not. A classic example of Michels' law in our own time is "New Labour".

The world-weary cynic might ask does it matter? After all, he may argue, the Western élites have not actively oppressed the masses for the past half century. The answer to that is that Western élites have been constrained during that period by a

unique set of circumstances which no longer obtain and are unlikely to be repeated. These circumstances include the democratic climate created by the last world war, a comparative scarcity of labour, the widespread availability of low skill employment and the legal and moral legacy of the previous century, namely a mass of legislation designed to protect the working man and a political climate favourable to the idea of social obligation towards the less fortunate or competent members of society.

Already the portents of a harsher ruling élite ideology are there. The welfare state is increasingly presented by politicians of supposedly widely different political colours as a grotesque liability rather than a boon. Employees in Britain have less legal protection now than they enjoyed in the early years of this century. The poor are treated as an embarrassment rather than an indictment of the society which fails them. Those in power have lost their social conscience. The old platitudes may be chanted about the need to protect the weak, but that is all they are, platitudes.

What has caused this change of ruling élite mentality? To understand that, one must delve into the political sociology of the past two centuries. With the advent of broad electoral franchises, traditional élites had to adapt if they were to retain political power. Over time the old élite mutated. Formal social rank became largely unimportant. Wealth became God. Plutocracy replaced the old aristocracy. But if the élite evolved, it remained an élite. It thwarted democracy by controlling entry into the élite and by manipulating the mass media.

A changed ideology

With a mutation of élite personnel came a changed ideology. The 19th Century saw both the development of a politically expressed social conscience and imperial expansion. The former event resulted in increasing state involvement to assist the poor. The responsibilities of empires, both formally acknowledged (European) and unacknowledged (American) produced Western ruling élites accustomed to thinking internationally and paternally. The growth of international trade and movement after the advent of the steamship strengthened the internationalist tendency.

The result was that Western ruling élites developed a paternalism which first embraced their masses and eventually evolved into a concern for the whole of mankind. After two world wars, political power and leadership in the West passed from Europe to America. The USA transformed the paternalistic ideals of the late imperial period into a global paternalism mediated through the UN and its agencies.

This global paternalism was a dangerous game to play under any circumstances, because the ideals and political systems of the West were simply impractical in most of the world. However, for forty odd years the system creaked along without

causing mortal damage, largely because the West engaged in political, not economic, action. Then in the 1980s came the exponents of *laissez faire* and international free trade. Both policies thoroughly undermined the idea of society in the form of the state being ultimately responsible for its citizens' welfare, a social lender of the last resort. When the parties ostensibly committed to social welfare adopted out of desperation the policies of free trade and *laissez faire*, the consequence was that Western electorates were left with no meaningful choice.

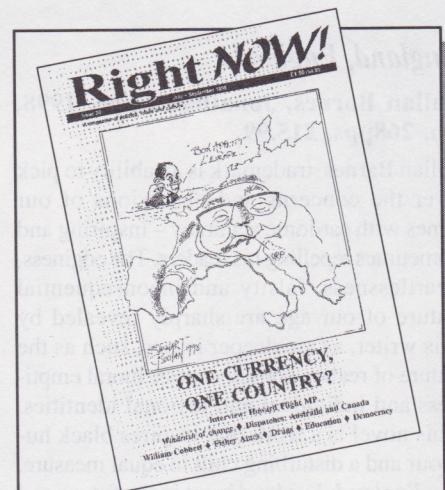
By 1990 the old dramatic political lines between Right and Left were largely gone. An intense community of interest and ideas had developed within the Western élite as a whole, a uniformity best illustrated in Britain by our élite's public responses to the two greatest political issues of the day, namely our membership of the EU and the consequences of mass immigration. There is not a single MP who is willing to publicly oppose our membership of the EU. There is not a single newspaper which has, as its editorial policy, our withdrawal from the EU. Broadcasters and journalists overwhelmingly support not only our membership, but wish us to enter EMU. As for mass immigration and its consequences, we have the salutary fact that no politician has seriously addressed the question since Enoch Powell in the 1970 election.

The new aristocracy know in their heart of hearts that the policies generated by their ideology are impractical. But they dare not say it because of the fear of the consequences. So just as the benighted ideologues of the Soviet Empire kept to the dictates of Marxist-Leninism right to the end, so the new nobility blindly follows their secular religious beliefs of "anti racism", "non-discrimination", "free trade", "free markets", "globalisation" and so forth, regardless of the damage being done. The result of this irresponsibility is likely to be international economic dislocation on a massive scale.

The outlook for most people in the West is bleak. The new aristocracy, through their wealth and control of institutions such as the police and the armed forces, will be able to protect themselves from the economic and political blizzards ahead. When push comes to shove they will not give a damn about the fate of those unable to fend for themselves. Rather they will oppress the masses to preserve their own status. The masses, robbed of any meaningful political control, will be powerless.

Unless the power of the new aristocracy is controlled, the past two centuries may be viewed in retrospect as an anomaly in human history, the sole brief period when a mixture of technological and political circumstances permitted meaningful control of the powerful by the weak. How is their power to be restricted? Space dictates that that is a subject for another time. □

Robert Henderson writes from central London



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England, England

**Julian Barnes, Jonathan Cape, 1998,
hb, 268pps, £15.99**

Julian Barnes' trademark is an ability to pick over the concerns and obsessions of our times with sardonic accuracy – inspiring and sometimes repelling his readers. The edginess, heartlessness, falsity and inconsequential nature of our age are sharply revealed by this writer, as are deeper issues, such as the nature of reality, consciousness, moral emptiness and individual and national identities. This novel is a work that inspires black humour and a disturbing chill in equal measure.

England, England is set in the future and concerns the life of Martha Cochrane, a flawed, yet ambitious, woman executive who lands a dazzling position within the massive business empire of monstrous, John Bullish tycoon, Sir Jack Pitman. Sir Jack has conceived an incredible, audacious vision: to create the greatest 'quality leisure' theme park the world has ever known – an exact replica of traditional England.

To set the scene: the real England is in gradual (and, later in the novel, freefall) decline. Sir Jack's project will cost millions of Euros – yes, we are in the single currency by this time! – but he is determined that his imitation England will become reality. So grandiose is the vision that it involves the purchase and complete rebuilding of the Isle of Wight! Beneath all the carefully-embroidered pageantry, it seems to be a market-driven, economic utopia: the company owning the island and no laws existing other than those of contract and the voluntary exchange of goods and services.

But the fantasy of 'Englishness' – not the making of money — becomes the park's *raison d'être* and slowly, everybody starts to be psychologically affected by the fantasy. Martha, together with an in-house "project historian" Dr Max (a sort of futuristic David Starkey), begins to give the project flesh and blood. The Isle of Wight's inhabitants are shipped out and most of the existing towns are bulldozed. In their place a Betjemanite suburbia of bungalows and villas is created. A Buckingham Palace is built – and the Royal Family takes up residence there, as Sir Jack's employees!

Double-decker buses (running on solar power) take visitors to all the chief attractions, including a daily Battle of Britain flypast over "Tennyson Down" (led, inevitably, by a Wing Commander "Johnny" Johnson!) and debates in the island's replica Westminster Parliament. For this, Sir Jack employs hundreds of "resting" actors and second-raters from mainland soap operas to be his theme park MPs. There is even a Cheshire Cheese where the visitor can enjoy a pint of foaming old English ale with the park's resident Dr Johnson. Robin Hood and his Merry Men also figure in the island story, but I will not spoil it for you.



Books

"Reading maketh a full man" - Bacon

Sir Jack's island is a wild success. Its founder travels along the quaint highways and byways of his little realm in an open state landau, wearing the uniform of some imperial governor or lord lieutenant. All is perfect and English and self-contained in every tiny detail. Yet the mythical England he has created, in which red London buses drive through a Sherwood Forest filled with brigands and archers, begins to challenge the economy and very existence of the mainland. Soon we learn of economic catastrophe, of sanctions, wars, depopulation and massive humiliation overwhelming the real England. After Sir Jack's death, the country even changes its name – so decadent and failure-ridden has the nation become. Only in the name of the Isle of Wight theme park does the word 'England' survive.

What are the good points about this novel? First, Julian Barnes vividly creates Sir Jack's dream England, building for the reader a distorted, yet oddly enchanting mirror of reality. Secondly, the author carries you along with a well-structured, exciting story. Thirdly, he tackles the theme of modern man taking refuge in fantasy – and of that fantasy becoming our new reality! He examines how an impotent, dying, powerless political entity turns in on itself, using myth and pastiche as a consolation for national decline. Finally, we can congratulate Barnes on having written – quite simply – a good story.

But there are criticisms. As a child of his times, Barnes displays a certain amount of trendy, national self-loathing (as well as bad language). Although not a prude, I re-

ally do not wish to keep reading the "f-word" and Martha Cochrane's pillow-talk really makes one cringe! *The Observer* and *Guardian*-reading classes might love this sort of thing, but the rest of us have heard it all before. He also really seems to take pleasure in England's decline and there is a strange, apocalyptic finale where Martha (now no longer in the service of the theme park) returns to a de-industrialised, agrarian England – now the poorest country in Europe.

Yet – perhaps unintentionally – there is a perverse salvation in this future England that has returned to a near-mediæval past. The "toxic isle" has become green again; two former commodities brokers have become cheesemakers; a steam train is the only link between villages and the local town and, with no economic future, most of Britain's ethnic minorities have fled. To the average Right-winger, this might be paradise! I wonder if Mr Barnes was aware of the irony?

As the historian David Cannadine has put it, our times are "nostalgia-crazed". The liberal-Left, of course, never fails to mock the heritage industry, but our present-day obsession with the artifice of the past and with national myth is a direct consequence of post-war liberalism, for the more we lose our real identity to Europe, globalism and multiculturalism, the deeper we will sink into nostalgia. We must read *England, England* as a good story, but as the once-bright lights of Englishness are gradually extinguished, we can learn something from the book's strange and disturbing messages.

Peter Gibbs

The Real American Dilemma: Race, Immigration and the Future of America

**Jared Taylor (ed), New Century Books,
Oakton, VA, 1998, pb, 139pps, US\$9.95**

This candid little book is mostly a compendium of speeches delivered at the 1996 *American Renaissance* (AR) conference held in Louisville, Kentucky. AR is a monthly magazine edited by Jared Taylor, author of the critically-acclaimed *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America* (Carroll & Graf, New York, 1992). There are eight well-known contributors to the present volume – US journalist Samuel Francis, psychologist J Philippe Rushton, author and *Social Contract* editor Wayne Lutton, philosopher Michael Levin, Orthodox priest Father James Thornton, neuroscientist Glayde Whitney (his article is the only one which was not originally a speech), author Michael Hart and, finally, Jared Taylor himself.

The book rehearses many of the themes covered every month in the fearless and well-written AR, themes rarely discussed in

'respectable' circles, and almost never with such insight – demographics, racial differences, cultural preservation, civility and the politically correct McCarthyites who seek to suppress such discussions.

The book's title is, of course, an allusion to the hugely influential 1944 book, *An American Dilemma*, by Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal, a book which provided the logic for both the "civil rights" movement and the immigration reforms of 1965 which have caused so much unhappiness and conflict. *An American Dilemma* introduced or popularised a lot of the fallacious ideas (now become clichés) with which the peoples of the Western world have become depressingly familiar – racism is caused by whites, we are all the same under the skin, "diversity is strength", there is no such thing as "race", and so on.

The contributors to this volume seek to assail Myrdal's unhappy legacy in several different ways. First, they want to revive and update the hereditarianism which underpinned both race relations and the Western understanding of civilisation until about 1960. The scientific contributions made by Rushton and Whitney are important contributions to debate, as their various professional awards and titles signify, although their conclusions are not necessarily shared by their professional colleagues.

Secondly, the contributors want to demonstrate that there is such a thing as race, both as a Platonic essence (I wish there was more emphasis in this volume on race as something one *feels* oneself to be) and as a biological "breeding population" within which particular physical traits are found with greater frequency than outside. This is implicit in all of the contributions. This may seem a little unnecessary to normal people. Who can believe that there is no such thing as race? Yet the inverted commas are creeping in around the word everywhere. Just like the sexes, the "races" are increasingly seen to be the "constructs" of the "ruling classes", mere devices for dividing and ruling with no basis in biology and without any "civilizational" uses at all, concepts increasingly "irrelevant" in the "global village". To say that races exist is to suggest that there may be qualitative differences between them, an intolerable notion to the easily shocked guardians of conventional thinking.

While scientists may argue about biological facts (and I for one think that more work is needed before definite conclusions about racial differences can be drawn) and although the definition of race needs to be tidied up, race is in any case surely a cultural necessity. Responsible politicians must always take group psychology into account. Without a sense of racial-cultural identity and without large numbers of people to carry that sense of identity, civilisations fragment and are eventually overwhelmed. Western civilisation cannot survive unless the over-

whelming majority who live within its boundaries are Westerners of a discrete physical type who have been influenced by classicism, Christianity (Father Thornton's article in *The Real American Dilemma* is especially useful in understanding the centrality of Christianity in our civilisation) and the ideals of the Enlightenment. The contributors want to inspire European Americans to think more as a group, something which is obviously necessary in a world where almost every other group thinks – or feels – corporately and historically.

Thirdly, the book details some of the moral and physical pressures exerted against those who beg to differ from the conventional view on these matters. This is a long and depressing testament to the diminution of freedom of expression in the Western world – Sam Francis, fired from the *Washington Times*; Phil Rushton, called "loony" by the Attorney-General of Ontario and compelled to give classes by videotape after physical attacks; Michael Levin, insulted by his City University of New York colleagues and whose classroom was attacked by a mob (the mob was praised by the president of CUNY for its "restraint"!) and the *American Renaissance* conference itself, attacked in the media without any right of reply, beset by censorious far-Leftists and televised "prayer vigils" and described as "racists without a Klu" (ho, ho!) or "at heart, scared people".

Fourthly, Wayne Lutton has written about what the post-1965 Immigration Reform Act increase in immigration means for European America. With legal immigration alone into the United States currently running at the suicidal rate of about 1,000,000 per annum, this is surely a proximate and pressing problem.

Finally, and most controversially, Michael Hart writes about the ultimate, if least-anticipated, consequence of Myrdal's ill-starred book – what has become the real possibility of the breakup of the United States, as discrete groups react from forced proximity to other groups by self-segregating themselves in congenial ethnic communities. Hart believes this is possibly now the only real long-term option for European-Americans anxious to retain their identity, as opting for the doormat approach preferred by Clinton *et al* means that whites must eventually vanish, while the "colour-blind" approach favoured by neo-conservatives will not satisfy blacks, whose leaders' expectations have been raised to fever pitch.

As both a starting point for further discussion and an inspiration for action, and because such audacious political incorrectness should be encouraged, this brave book is highly recommended.

The Real American Dilemma may be obtained from Box 527, Oakton, VA 22124-0527, USA. Telephone: +1 703 716 0900 Facsimile: +1 703 716 0932 Internet: www.amren.com

Derek Turner

The g Factor: The Science of Mental Ability

Arthur R Jensen, Praeger, 1998, hb, 649 pps, \$39.95

Arthur Jensen's new book is a major contribution to our understanding of human intelligence. He begins rather disconcertingly by proposing that the word intelligence should be abandoned because after almost a century of debate psychologists have failed to reach an agreed definition of it. He suggests that it would be preferable to use the more technical concept of *g*, standing for general intelligence. Jensen's book is devoted to explaining the nature of *g* and its biological and social importance.

The concept of *g* was first proposed by the British psychologist Charles Spearman in 1904 in what Jensen considers one of the most important papers ever written in psychology. Spearman discovered that when children are given tests of a number of different kinds, there is a tendency for those who perform well on some of them to perform well on the others. In order to explain this phenomenon, Spearman proposed that there must be some general power of the mind that determines performance on all cognitive tasks. This general power he designated *g*.

Spearman made three major contributions to the understanding of the nature of *g*. First, *g* is not an entity that can be observed or even measured precisely. It is a construct, akin to constructs like gravity and heat in physics, whose value lies in their explanatory power. Secondly, he devised the statistical method of factor analysis by which *g* can be estimated, even though it cannot be measured precisely. Factor analysis reveals the existence of the general factor (*g*) present in a set of tests of mental ability and shows which of the tests are the best measures of *g*. Numerous studies using this technique have shown that novel reasoning tests provide the best measures of *g*, while tests of memory, perceptual abilities, spelling, etc provide poorer measures of *g*.

Thirdly, Spearman showed that *g* is not the sole determinant of performance on mental tasks. Initially, he believed that there were also what he called *specific* abilities particular to individual tests, such as arithmetical ability for the performance of arithmetic, short term memory for holding telephone numbers in mind for a brief period and the like. Later, he extended his theory to include what were called *group factors* which can be thought of as clusters of specific abilities.

In *The g Factor* Jensen builds on the foundations laid down by Spearman and extends them in a variety of ways. He begins with a consideration of the taxonomy of *g* and proposes a three tier hierarchical model in which the lowest tier consists of a number of narrow abilities, the second tier consists

Continued overleaf

of the three major group factors of verbal, reasoning and spatial abilities, and the third tier consists of *g*. He turns next to the biological bases of *g* and proposes that one of these is the size of the brain. Another is the speed and efficiency of neurophysiological brain processes which can be assessed from the speed of simple reactions, which numerous studies have shown are associated with *g*.

He concludes that *g* has a substantial genetic basis with an heritability of between 60 to 70% in adolescents and young adults and around 80% in maturity. Nevertheless, the level of *g* in the populations of the economically developed nations has increased quite substantially over the course of the last 60 years or so. He believes this has been largely due to improvements in a number of biological factors determining *g*, such as nutrition, reduced severity of infectious diseases, a reduction of inbreeding and the like.

The second half of the book is concerned with the social implications of *g*. Jensen argues that *g* is an important determinant of educational and occupational achievement and that low *g* is a significant cause of social behaviour problems including welfare dependency, chronic unemployment, illegitimacy and crime. In all these respects Jensen arrives at the same conclusion as that reached by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray in *The Bell Curve*. Jensen also follows Herrnstein and Murray in believing that these social problems are likely to become worse in future decades because the genetic component of *g* is deteriorating as a result of people with high *g* having fewer children than those with low *g*. For the present, this deterioration is compensated by the improvement in the environmental component of *g*, but this improvement cannot be expected to persist indefinitely and at some point *g* will begin to decline. The social problems associated with low *g* will then grow in severity.

Jensen devotes considerable space to a discussion of black-white differences in *g*. He argues that the lower average scores on various intelligence and educational tests obtained by blacks as compared with whites is largely attributable to a lower average *g*. He also argues that this lower average *g* is largely genetic. He marshalls a number of arguments to support this conclusion, including the failure of the intelligence of blacks to improve as a result of being reared in white families and their smaller average brain size. He concludes with a discussion of whether there is a sex difference in *g* and concludes that there is not. This is the only part of the book where Jensen errs on the side of political correctness.

Jensen's book should be regarded as a work of consolidation in an ongoing research programme. There are a number of problems that remain to be resolved. Perhaps the most important of these is that there is no definitive measure of *g*. Different tests produce somewhat different *gs* with the re-

sult that individuals scored for *g* derived from one set of tests obtain different scores on *g* derived from another set of tests. Other important problems awaiting solution are whether Orientals have higher average *g* than whites and the unresolved paradox that males have larger average brain size than females but, according to Jensen, the same *g*. There remains also the problem of the brain mechanisms underlying *g*. Those working in this area must be content to be guided by the ancient Chinese maxim that it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive.

Richard Lynn is professor emeritus of psychology at the University of Ulster. His most recent book, Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration in Modern Populations, is published by Praeger

The Crusader of the Twentieth Century

Roberto de Mattei, Gracewing Publishing, 1998, 280 pps, £15

Among the most notable conservative thinkers and men of action in this century was certainly the Brazilian Plinio Correa de Oliveira (1908-1995), the youngest (at 24) and most popular representative at Brazil's Constitutional Convention in 1932, as leader of the Catholic Electoral League. Later he was professor emeritus of history at the Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo, as well as the founder of various organisations upholding the principles of Christian civilisation across the world.

This outstanding personality is still relatively unknown not only to public opinion at large, but also within Europe's conservative circles, probably due to his having been born in Latin America. Yet Professor Correa de Oliveira's 87 years of life and 67 years of Catholic activism were marked by an astounding output: 16 books in many editions and languages totalling 400 million copies worldwide, 2,500 articles and manifestos and over 20,000 speeches delivered, whose recorded tapes amount to more than one million typed pages. Thus this biography by Professor de Mattei is long overdue.

The book was originally printed in Italy in 1996 by Piemme, a prestigious Catholic publishing house, and is prefaced by Cardinal Alfons Maria Stickler, the renowned theologian who was formerly both Rector of the Pontifical Salesian University and Prefect of the Vatican Library. Subsequent editions were produced in French, Spanish and Portuguese. The author is Professor of Modern History at the University of Cassino (Rome) and President of the Centro Culturale Lepanto and is regarded as one of the most vibrant conservative leaders in Italy. In this book, Professor de Mattei offers a detailed picture of Correa de Oliveira in the context of his intellectual forebears – Louis de Bonald, Juan Donoso Cortes, Joseph de

Maistre, Carl Ludwig von Haller and many others.

Correa de Oliveira's principal book, *Revolution and Counter-revolution*, was first published in 1959 and has been constantly in print ever since in many languages (the third English edition was produced recently). This book is not only a compendium of his school of thought, but also a plan for action which has inspired many in their fight for the defence of tradition, family and the right to private property.

Thanks to his tireless activity he went a very long way to prevent, first, Nazism (he decried Nazi-Soviet collusion well ahead of the infamous Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact) and then communism from taking root in Brazil and the rest of South America. In 1945, while Soviet troops were still advancing towards Berlin, Correa de Oliveira wrote: "Once the hateful Nazi scourge is overthrown, the objective is to eliminate communism. To this end, everything should be sacrificed, absolutely everything that logically and licitly one can sacrifice. The fight against communism should be more unyielding, clearer, more tenacious than ever" (p 64).

Equally vigorous was his determination to combat liberalism, including modernist-progressive and socialist-Marxist infiltrations into the Catholic Church. In this regard he did not hesitate to associate with controversial theologians, such as the French Dominican Garrigou Lagrange. In 1960, with his best seller *Land Reform: A Question of Conscience*, he gave impetus to ongoing campaigns to defend the right to private property and enterprise, averting Soviet-style confiscatory land reforms in Brazil which were unconditionally backed by top members of Brazil's Catholic hierarchy.

His beneficial influence was also felt much further afield. The disintegration of the USSR was a domino effect following on from the independence Gorbachev was forced to grant to Lithuania, following a worldwide petition drive inspired by Correa de Oliveira. This petition of over 5.2 million signatures was recorded in the 1993 *Guinness Book of Records* as history's largest. In the early 1980s, his astringent exposés, which appeared in magazines and newspapers in 52 countries, totalling some 33.5 million copies, contributed greatly to the demise of Mitterrand's self-managing socialism.

Unsurprisingly, he suffered from slanders and controversy. But now Professor de Mattei's biography has finally set the record straight. As Cardinal Stickler points out in his preface: "I hope that this biography... can help to dissipate the criticism and misunderstandings and create an ideal point of reference for all those who generously wish to dedicate their energies to the service of the Church and Christian civilisation." □

Alberto Carosa is a Rome-based journalist.

The Crusader of the Twentieth Century may be ordered from TFP, 7-11 Kensington High Street, London W8 5NP

Reithean values

According to BBC audience research, most people who watch the news do not know what political correspondents mean by terms like "backbencher", "Green Paper" and "White Paper", while about 90% do not know what the 1922 Committee is, or what whips are. These terms will consequently be axed from mainstream news bulletins. (*Daily Telegraph*, 7th October 1998)

Health SS

A famous photograph of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, designer of the steamer *SS Great Britain*, showing him smoking a cigar, has been retouched to remove the cigar. The *SS Great Britain Project*, the company which manages the shipboard museum in Bristol, said that it had been airbrushed out because it was "inappropriate for a potential role model to be seen smoking". (*Daily Telegraph*, 9th October 1998)

NHS spending

A young woman doctor, who accidentally pricked her finger on a needle in London's Charing Cross Hospital while training, and subsequently developed "needlestick phobia", has won £500,000 compensation because she "was not given proper training on what to do after a needle injury and was not offered occupational health support". She is unlikely to practice again. (*Daily Mail*, 10th October 1998)

Punch has feelings

Sir Ian McKellen, the actor and 'gay rights' militant, said recently that he might never act in London again, because he never saw a black face at the National Theatre and this "betrayed the soul of acting". (*Daily Telegraph*, 15th October 1998)

Curtains for civilised values

"Artists and performers have continued to ply their trade to the same white, middle-class audiences... We will no longer tolerate an assumption that artistic excellence is somehow a substitute for proper management..." Gerry Robinson, new Arts Council chairman, promising to lead "a revolution" to take the arts to ethnic minorities, the poor, disabled and the young. (*Daily Telegraph*, 15th October 1998)

Losing it

Lady Thatcher, having asked somebody why the Conservatives had lost her old Finchley seat to Labour, received the reply that this was largely because of the demographic changes in the area, which have entailed a major increase in the number of ethnic minorities in the constituency. She replied in astound-

'em" Mr Turner also announced that he and Jane had been seeing a marriage counsellor... (*The Times*, November 17th, 1998)

Surprise, surprise

"History and traditions matter" concluded four economists from Harvard and the University of Chicago, when trying to decide what distinguished good govern-

Gulag Gore

"[Industrialist Armand] Hammer was a lifelong 'agent of influence' of the Soviet Politburo and an accomplice of every Russian leader from Lenin to Gorbachev... he described Ceausescu as a 'warm and kindly man'... he financed the Shining Path guerillas in Peru... the profound and prolonged in-



ment: "But the Muslims believe in God. They should be voting Conservative!" (*Private Eye*, 16th October 1998)

Snot funny

"I can fully understand why the Maoris might want Greytown's original name to be restored", admitted the Chairman of Wairapa Council in Christchurch, New Zealand. "But...the traditional Maori name for this town is Te Hupenui, and that translates into English as 'The Big Snot'"... *Hupe* is the fluid that flows from the nose when people cry. It has deep spiritual significance for Maoris. (*Private Eye*, 16th October 1998)

Turner-round ?

The American Nuclear Age Peace Foundation gave its World Citizenship Award to media mogul Ted Turner, the founder of Cable News Network (CNN), vice-President of Time Warner and husband of Leftist doyenne Jane Fonda. The 300 in attendance at the awards dinner in November were given food for thought by Mr Turner's speech: "The United States [Government] is the one that doesn't want to get rid of nuclear weapons because somehow they think that we're going to be able to use nuclear weapons to save ourselves from the starving masses of the Third World when they arrive on our doorstep. But that's not the way they're going to come in. They're coming from across the Mexican border right now... they'll come from Saudi Arabia when they run out of oil... the real threat is no longer an army marching on us, it's people infiltrating us, you know, that are starving. And what are we going to do? Shoot

ments from bad in a large-scale project for the US National Bureau of Economic Research. Other findings included: countries further away from the equator are better governed than those near the equator; "ethno-linguistically heterogeneous" countries are not as well-governed as those with less diversity; countries whose legal systems are based on the Napoleonic system tend to be badly governed. The top ten countries are all Western nations. (NBER Working Paper 6727, quoted in *Washington Post*, 1st November 1998)

Dotty Toynbee

"I remember how in 1989 we whooped and wept and celebrated the end of that era. It seemed as if the world was about to enter an unknown golden age. Mandela was freed and South Africa, too, was liberated at last. A united free world could surely achieve anything now" (Polly Toynbee, *Radio Times*, 3-9 October 1998)

Esprit de corps

"Institutionalised racism exists in Greater Manchester Police. It goes from the absolute overt racism, verbal abuse, physical abuse to aggressive and antagonistic acts" [sic] - David Wilmot, Chief Constable of Greater Manchester Police, speaking to the Stephen Lawrence enquiry. (*Daily Telegraph*, 14th October 1998)

Beatle drive

Mo Mowlam, Northern Ireland Secretary, said that her choice as Poet Laureate would be Sir Paul McCartney: "That's what we identify with". (*Sunday Telegraph*, 1st November 1998)

vement between Hammer and [Al] Gore has never been revealed nor investigated". (Neil Lyndon, *Sunday Telegraph*, 1st November 1998)

Academic excellence

Bradford University is to stop the playing of the National Anthem at graduation ceremonies, because staff believe it is an "imposition" or "intimidating", and that the ceremony should be a celebration of "academic excellence" only. (*Daily Telegraph*, 3rd November 1998). A *Sunday Times* survey of Britain's 98 universities has placed Bradford in 98th place in quality of teaching, where it scored 0 points out of 250. (Auberon Waugh, *Daily Telegraph*, 11th November 1998)

Idealistic youth

The Duchess of York tried to present an award to Bristol band Massive Attack at the MTV annual awards. Her outstretched hand was ignored by Massive Attack's singer, who said "Somebody's having a ****ing laugh, aren't they?" When the Duchess asked him what the fuss was about, he told her to "**** off", and said that he would have preferred it if his award had been presented by a Brazilian footballer. (*Evening Standard*, 13th November 1998)

Hermaphrodite hubris

The Equal Opportunities Commission has recommended that private organisations should be compelled to treat men and women absolutely equally. This would necessitate, for example, both that all golf clubs would be forcibly opened up to women members, and that all-women gymnasium sessions would no longer be permitted. (*Daily Telegraph*, 6th November 1998)

GOOD LORDS

What a fiasco over the reform of the House of Lords! Hague has made clear that he agrees that the Lords need to be reformed; the only problem is that he has no idea what to put in its place. Now you do not set off on a journey before you have decided where you want to go. Labour of course know full well what they want, even if they haven't the honesty to admit it: a rubber stamping chamber made up of appointed cronies.

The first question any sensible conservative (note the small c) should ask himself is whether the Lords needs to be reformed in the first place. Let's begin by dismissing the Labour lie that the Tories have an inbuilt majority: not true. While they are the largest party they can easily be outvoted by the other parties, and Tory peers are, in any case, very independent-minded and often vote against the party line. Mrs Thatcher, remember, lost over 100 votes in the Lords. So much for Tory domination.

The next argument used by Labour is that the public demands change. Whatever your view of government by opinion polls the fact is that this is also a lie. In a poll published in *The Daily Telegraph* last year offering the choice between leaving the Lords as it is, reforming it, or abolishing it, the most popular choice was to keep it exactly as it is. Recent polls have shown that around two-thirds of the public want hereditary peers to remain until a full reform has been agreed. Labour, of course, believe that the hereditary principle is wrong – and to prove it they have appointed the daughter of the last Labour Prime Minister as leader of the Lords! What upsets Labour, of course, is that a large number of hereditary peers (although not a majority) are Conservatives. The suggestion is that the Tories have an in-built advantage, as if a peer's support for a particular party was programmed at birth. The idiocy of this notion can be seen by the fact that Earl Attlee, grandson of the Labour Prime Minister and surely a natural Labour supporter if ever there was one, joined the Tories a couple of years ago.

What are the merits of the current House of Lords? They are independent, intelligent and, paradoxical as it may seem, a random cross-section of society. Peers are rather like a jury, randomly selected at birth. Before they inherit their title and the right to sit in the Lords they may take up a wide range of professions, thus bringing a range of experiences with them, and by no means are all of them wealthy. As the upbringing of hereditary peers is generally likely to have instilled into them the importance of ancestry, traditions, heritage and history, those of us who are natural conservatives should welcome the introduction of these viewpoints into the legislative chamber.

The most valuable aspect of the House of Lords is, however, the very fact that it is *not* elected. Peers can speak their minds without having to curry favour with lobbyists or pressure groups, and without fearing the next opinion poll. Peers may sometimes take a

The John Bull Column



"How few men are strong enough to stand against the prevailing currents of opinion ... Be prepared to stand up faithfully for Right and Truth, however the wind may blow."

Winston Churchill

party whip, but they are not in thrall to it and are often more democratic than the bleeper-activated robots so often encountered in the House of Commons.

Consider the way the Lords voted against the government's Bill to introduce 'closed lists' at the next European elections. Under this system, instead of voting for a person, you will only be allowed to vote for a party, with the party choosing who your representative will be. To the Labour Party democracy means imposing political correctness on the public. Similarly, Labour complains that hereditary peers lack 'democratic legitimacy' – but life peers aren't elected either, so how are they more 'democratic'? The legitimacy of the House of Lords stems from the fact that it is simply a revising chamber, which scrutinises government Bills and proposes amendments, but which – by virtue of the Parliament Act – cannot block anything for more than a year: sufficient time to make a government think seriously about what it is doing, but not so long that it seriously impedes a government's legislative programme.

Now consider what the possible options are to the present make-up of the Lords. An assembly of government-appointed cronies rubber-stamping anything proposed by the Commons? A timid and toothless collection of party hacks? Or perhaps you have in mind an elected chamber, but elected when? If the new chamber is elected at the same time as

the Commons its composition will obviously be the same and it will not be the democratic backstop which the Lords are. On the other hand, if the second chamber is elected in a government's mid-term it will generally be used by the public for protest-voting and will therefore become a powerful opponent to the Commons, buoyed by its more recent democratic mandate, blocking all Bills and making government impossible. Similarly, if the new chamber is elected under a different, more proportional system, it will claim greater legitimacy than the Commons and there will be a constant battle for supremacy between the two chambers instead of the present settled and accepted roles.

FALSE PROPHETS

Now that Labour is in power all the Left-wing comics have fallen strangely silent. Not having those wicked Right-wing Tories (if only) to mock, they are no doubt brushing up their Essex-girl jokes. One of the few sources of political satire has been *Private Eye*'s portrayal of Blair as a trendy vicar. Amusing though this certainly is, I can't help feeling that even here they have backed off from showing the true nature of the man.

Despite his smiling, 'inclusive', guitar-playing image he reminds me much more of another religious figure, Jim Jones. In 'New Labour' style, Jim Jones founded "The People's Temple" in 1956, described as "an inter-racial church preaching a socialist Christianity". In 1977 Jones was voted "San Francisco's Humanitarian of the Year". He even set up an "almost utopian" commune in Guyana. With a CV such as this you will of course have realised that Jim Jones was a lunatic, and you might remember that in 1978 he was responsible for 900 of his followers being poisoned to death. While Blair may lack Jim Jones' homicidal tendencies the trouble with all these Left-wing preachers is that their philosophy is based (whether consciously or not) on that set out by Plato in *The Republic*.

These Leftists do not believe in freedom, in case people should abuse their freedom. So we have laws telling us to wear crash helmets and seat belts, we are told not to drink and drive or eat beef on the bone, we can't own guns, we can't associate with whom we choose, we can't even say what we like. Even Conservative politicians, who used to proclaim allegiance to John Stuart Mills' *On Liberty* now seem to prefer Plato's vision, except that whereas he wished to ban poetry they would probably like to ban *Right Now!* Plato believed that the ideal form of government was an oligarchy of philosophers who always knew what was right and who were obeyed by a subservient populace. Leftists genuinely believe that they know what is good for you better than you do yourself. This arrogant imperiousness leads such people to believe that, as the philosopher Isaiah Berlin explained, it is at times justifiable "to coerce men in the name of some goal (let us say, justice or public health) which they would, if they were more

enlightened, themselves pursue, but do not, because they are blind or ignorant or corrupt". The trouble is, as Berlin himself pointed out, that when you start believing that you are "coercing others for their own sake", and that you know "what they truly need better than they know it themselves", you are "in a position to ignore the actual wishes of men or societies, to bully, oppress, torture them in the name of their 'real' selves".

WHEN THE LEFT IS RIGHT

I was asked the other day how the Left had succeeded in imposing their social views on the majority of society. The answer is that the far Left realised a long time ago that aggressive agitation can easily intimidate the majority of both the public and the politicians. Most members of the public want an easy life and don't want to get involved in confrontation with political extremists. As for politicians, most of them lack any moral or political convictions, and merely wish to be re-elected. By being noisy and troublesome, political agitators can appear more numerous than they really are, thereby making politicians believe that there are a lot of votes at stake. Their aggression can attract a lot of press attention, putting pressure on the politicians to 'do something' to regain control, especially if members of the public are being inconvenienced. While the 'something' is normally to try to stop the troublemakers using the police, if the protestors are sufficiently determined and undeterred by the very light sentences applied against them, the government will eventually concede what was demanded to put a stop to the trouble. In other words, 'aggression works'. The far Left, as I said, discovered this decades ago; Emmeline Pankhurst declared: "The argument of the broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics", and all over the world the Left has been causing trouble ever since. Whether opposing road-building, Miss World contests, South African cricket or rugby tours, the fur trade, homosexual sex laws or the deportation of immigrants, the far Left has never shrunk from violence. The Left has picketed shops, offices and Parliament, disrupted meetings, thrown bricks through windows, sprayed graffiti and targeted scientists, businessmen and advertisers with letter bombs or, at the very least, intimidating packages with bullets, dead animals, faeces and the like. And what has the Right done all this time? Grumbled into their pints about how 'the country's going to the dogs' (but not too loud in case someone might be offended) or written the occasional plaintive and pathetic letter to the *Daily Telegraph* or *Daily Mail*.

So why has the Right been so feeble in the defence of the things they believe in? The answer is that, unfortunately, the superior qualities of those of the Right – their intellectual abilities and moral standards – rebound against them in the area of politics. Those on the Right normally have demanding

jobs, financial commitments and often are responsible for a wife and children. They have less time to engage in direct action, and would suffer disproportionately from any convictions both financially and, in view of the higher moral standards of their peers, from a loss of esteem or even friendship. Apart from all these considerations, they simply shrink from being aggressive.

Take, for example, Drumcree, where Unionists protested last summer against the refusal to allow them to walk down the Garvagh Road. Just as their protests looked as though they were about to succeed three young children were killed. Whether these deaths were caused by the protests or not the fact is that Unionists recoiled from the confrontation and the battle was lost. Had the situation been different, with nationalists protesting, they would have turned the deaths of those children to their advantage and said 'See what terrifying forces you have unleashed by refusing us permission to march down the street? You are to blame for provoking us. Now allow us to march or else more children will die'. Unionists have neither the heart nor the stomach for such tactics, which is why the IRA has won all the concessions from the government. There is still a small picket at Drumcree and the occasional nearby march, but these are peaceful and therefore not reported by the media, which means they are of no concern to politicians. Philosophers used to ask "If a tree falls in the forest and no-one hears it, does it make a noise?" The equivalent today would be: "If a demonstration is not reported in the media has it taken place?"

So is the Right doomed to failure? Not necessarily. As Drumcree itself showed, when forced into a corner the Right will accept a limited level of civil disobedience, which almost succeeded there and was sufficient to ensure that other 'controversial' marches were allowed. And if sufficient numbers of decent people can be roused from their political slumber no direct action is necessary, as the Countryside marches showed last year. And just occasionally a politician will actually believe in something sufficiently to ignore the protests of the far Left (Mrs Thatcher, for instance, ignored the Greenham Common women). The lesson is therefore that there is a need for mass mobilisation (the street demonstrations and the mountains of mail supporting Enoch Powell following his famous 1968 speech forced the government to introduce some immigration controls), and the election of conviction politicians who will not shrink from confrontation with the Left.

HAPPY NEW EURO?

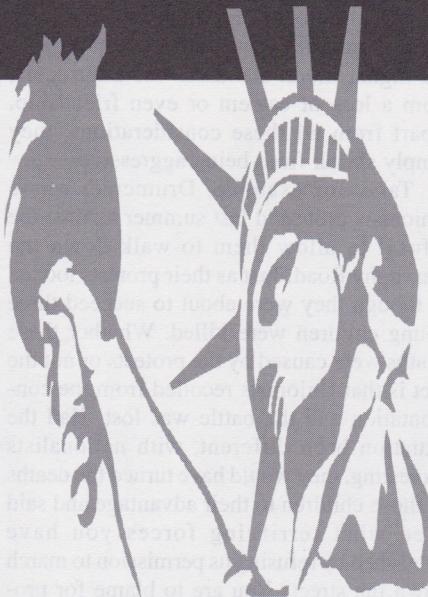
So the Euro has finally come into existence, on trading-room computer screens at least even if not in peoples' pockets (that comes in 2002). Labour, of course, is going to 'wait and see' what happens – to the opinion polls that is, as they are committed to taking us in as soon as they think they can win the referendum they were forced to offer as a result

of Goldsmith's campaign. The latest polls offer both good and bad news. The bad news is that the federalists' efforts to persuade people that the Euro is 'inevitable' have been successful (80% now think so, compared to 50% in 1995), and as a result the number of people who are confident enough to declare that we should never join has fallen (to 21%), and some previous 'don't knows' now support the Euro (34%). Before federalists rejoice they should note that support for the Euro has simply returned to the level it was in 1990 and is constantly fluctuating between about 15-35%, whereas opposition to the introduction of the Euro 'at the present time' remains rock-steady at 60%. This is very encouraging, since a few years ago polls were suggesting that once the Euro was introduced in Europe opposition here would crumble; not only hasn't this happened, but general scepticism with the EU has increased.

The Sunday Telegraph recently revealed that "the most comprehensive opinion survey of its kind" had found that "There is not a single policy area, from agriculture to pollution, on which a majority of the British public would cede Britain's national decision-making powers to the EU". Furthermore, "knowing how the EU works makes people more Eurosceptic". This is in line with another survey, reported some time ago in *The Economist*, that the countries that deem themselves well informed about monetary union (Denmark, Finland, Germany and Britain) are the most Eurosceptic. The enthusiasts (Italy, Greece, Spain) admit to being ill-informed. Indeed, only a fifth of Italians knew that the single currency was to be called the Euro, with some thinking this was a nickname for the EU or a satellite television channel!

The campaign against EMU must, therefore, be a twin track affair. The rapidly increasing number of businessmen opposed to the Euro will need to take the lead in maintaining the public's continuing refusal to accept the single currency, and politicians should concentrate on persuading people that economic and monetary union is not inevitable. A cross-party alliance is needed, with people like the excellent Labour MP Frank Field playing a prominent role. The Conservative party should be ashamed that Frank Field actually takes a much more considered and consistent line than it does: "I cannot see any circumstances in which it would ever be right for us to join the Euro because, as I say, that would mean saying goodbye to Great Britain. Here we are, the fifth strongest economy in the world with massive overseas assets which we are rebuilding fast for the third time this century, and we can stand on our own feet". Of course we can. Not only are we building up our assets overseas but the latest figures show that inward investment into the UK has actually increased, despite the febrile warnings of the federalists that remaining out of the Euro would make Britain less attractive. No, there is no reason for us to join and every reason to stay out. □

America: Dwight D Murphey wonders what can be learnt from the Clinton affair



So much has been written about the disgraceful behaviour of Bill Clinton that it would seem there is nothing more to say. Here, however, are a few thoughts that I have as an American "classical liberal" that reflect a perspective substantially different from what is ordinarily expressed.

Throughout my lifetime of 64 years, American conservatives such as myself have been warning not only about the growth of governmental power, but also about the cultural and moral decline of the American people. Many Americans, prosperous within a life of economic abundance, have shrugged off these warnings as unnecessarily gloomy and as coming from types of people who seem to rebel against the enjoyment of life. By now, however, the warnings are vindicated; the decadence is clear for all to see. This is a grim vindication, indeed.

We have had a popular entertainer who has grabbed her crotch while singing the national anthem at a baseball game, a heavyweight boxing champion who has earned deserved infamy by biting the ears of his opponent, motion pictures that feature the vulgar word for coitus about twice per sentence – and now a President who desecrates the country's most sacred office and one of the country's most revered places, the White House, by having fellatio performed on him there.

There is still much that is wonderful about life in the United States, and many fine people. But part of everyday life is moulded by the signs of the decadence – everything from enormously loud car radios blasting past the house to the execution-type murders of convenience store clerks nearby.

One of the most striking facts brought to light by the Clinton scandal is the moral bifurcation of American society. A considerable segment of the American people is not only willing to rationalise and defend indecency, but is militantly insistent on its

right to exist. Such people are not backing off. These are the shameless – like Clinton himself – who perceive no obscenity.

When, in the face of scandal, there are many who won't acquiesce in the restoration of moral order, a surprising moral crisis comes into existence. It is, in a sense, a "crisis of legitimacy" for the social order as a whole, since there is no longer a fundamental consensus on values. In a "normal" society, such a bifurcation would hardly come into existence, since it could be expected that no one would rally around the indecency.

In addition to the people I have mentioned, there are millions of others who seem to feel no outrage about the obscenity itself or about the desecration of national honour. These prefer to think only of whether "perjury or obstruction of justice" occurred. Also, a great many others who might feel outrage are cowed into a more acquiescent reaction by the cultural and moral pressures that generally force them, today, into silent submissiveness on a great many subjects. This is the main reason there is so little anger evident anywhere, with the strongest emotion being titillated disdain. This represents a sea-change from traditional American attitudes. My grandparents would have been as scandalised by the various reactions of the American public as by the salacious behaviour of the President.

In part, the change in values reflects a revolution in American attitudes toward sexual morality. In fact, there is no longer any sexual "morality" as such, since no one speaks in those terms, except a few conservatives whose voices are barely heard. Very little that is judgmental remains about sexuality. The only exceptions are in select areas, such as child abuse or "sexual harassment", where for one reason or another the Left embraces something as a cause. This isn't to say that a lot of couples don't stay

married, as faithful partners, for a lifetime. But they no longer set the tone of the culture.

The Clinton scandal, in tandem with OJ Simpson's acquittal on the murder charges a couple of years ago, would seem to indicate a basic redirection of American law. It is a redirection that reflects the type of people Americans have become. Defence attorneys are now potently aware (a) that all decisions in controversies – whether the decisions be in the courts by juries or by judges, or in the Congress in impeachment proceedings – are rendered by human beings; and (b) that neither law nor morality counts nearly so much as the weaknesses and prejudices of those human beings, who can readily be manipulated, almost like clay in a potter's hands. It has become clear in American society that race is very much a card to be played; and it has equally become clear that a great many people have no ability to discern the difference between a sound argument, rationally supported, and a purely fake one. Sophistries are run up as though they were flags, and people will be found who will salute any one of them. "Legalisms" take the place of law as something to be honoured and respected.

Again, this reveals the erosion of yet another pillar of the Old Republic. In such a milieu, can there be any reason to wonder why so debilitated a population is acquiescing so submissively in its own demise, as it now is through massive Third World immigration? In a few years, the United States will be hardly recognisable. One consolation will be that there will be fewer people then living who will have the sensibility to regret it. □

Dwight D Murphey is a patron of *Right Now!*, a professor of business law at Wichita State University in Kansas, and the author of several books on social and political philosophy

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Right Now! Internet site

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www.right-now.org



Vietnam: Alberto Carosa interviews Vietnamese dissident Nguyen Huu Chanh

Freedom and democracy for Vietnam by 2000 and the end of the communist regime after 23 years: this was the message from Nguyen Huu Chanh during his recent visit to Italy. He is secretary-general of the exiled government of Free Vietnam (GFV) which came into existence on April 30, 1995.

The GFV is a broad, democratic coalition of religious groups, organisations, fronts and political parties, which wishes to free the country from the communist government. Nguyen Hoang Dan is its first prime minister and Nguyen Huu Chanh is his highest representative overseas. The GFV mainly operates from Hoa Binh, a secret base somewhere along the border between Vietnam and Cambodia, but it also has an international office in Garden Grove in California, and a newly-established European branch, in Verona. Nguyen Huu Chanh's trip was part of his task to network with the members of the Vietnamese diaspora (some four millions worldwide) and win increasing international agreement for the GFV's liberation plans.

Alberto Carosa: What is the present situation in Vietnam?

Nguyen Huu Chanh: The economic situation is a complete disaster. State assets have been squandered during these past 23 years and the Communist Party has heaped up a mountain of debt. They do not know how to cope with this situation. Society is full of corruption, immorality and anarchy. The Communist Party and its government are totally impotent and tacitly accept the situation for their own survival purposes. The state is simply bankrupt and has no money for such things as health services or education. There is no freedom of religion.

AC: During last year's synod of Asian bishops, no-one denounced the plight of Catholics and others in Vietnam. Why?

NHC: For any cleric to be allowed to leave the country, eg for a Synod in Rome, he must sign an agreement binding him not to criticise communism or the communist regime in his own country. Otherwise, he would be immediately jailed upon his return. The overwhelming majority of Vietnamese bishops, clergy and religious sign this contract so that they can come back and continue their missionary work. Eight out of ten bishops are excellent people and have at heart the good of their own people, but the rest are simply quislings. The mere fact that these religious are seen coming and

going is exploited by the regime to give the impression that freedom of movement is not impeded. Many bishops covertly support our anti-communist movement, in order not to jeopardise their pastoral and charitable work. Police wanted to disrupt the traditional pilgrimage to La Vang in central Vietnam, but with the logistical support of the GFV there was nothing the police could do to prevent some 100,000 pilgrims from joining the pilgrimage.

AC: You said Vietnam would be definitely free by 2000. How can you be so sure?

NHC: My conviction is based on the fact that recently they approached us both inside and outside the country. For example, in September 1997 Hanoi's prime minister offered me the post of deputy prime minister. I declined. Had they felt sufficiently strong, the Communists would have never come forward with such a proposal. The Communist regime will simply have to relinquish power for democratic, general elections to be held on a date set by an interim GFV executive under UN or international supervision. The interim government will then be replaced by the newly-elected one.

AC: What about a possible Communist comeback, as in Russia?

NHC: Vietnam will never be like Russia. We are not prepared to compromise with the Communists. When the GFV is installed in our country, no vestiges of either the Communist Party or its government will be left, since all political parties, save the Communists, will take part in the first democratic election. There'll never be a handshake, let alone a coalition, between the GFV and the communists.

Top members of the Hanoi government asked the GFV to return and help repay the huge foreign debt accrued over their time in power. But we want to make a clean sweep, to rid our country of communism and its evils once and for all. Our programme provides for a free and democratic republic to be based on a free market economy where the right to property for individuals and corporations will be respected. Needless to say, in the spirit of national reconciliation, all Communist Party members who have refuted Communism will always be welcome to the great mission of rebuilding and reconstructing our fatherland.

For more information, you are welcome to visit our website <http://www.vntd.org> or e-mail chinhphu@vntd.org

We wish to stress that all conflicts and

disputes are to be settled by peaceful means. Besides two million Vietnamese exiles who work for us both inside and outside the country, we have also infiltrated the Communist structures, so much so that for example at least 16 Communist generals secretly support us. With the present Asian crisis added to the domestic situation in Vietnam, the people really are at the end of their tether. We could topple the communist government by simply making one telephone call, but we are pursuing a peaceful and democratic transition.

AC: A member of your delegation is Admiral Lam Nguon Tanh, the "shadow minister" of Foreign Affairs. Wasn't he admiral under the former South Vietnamese government?

NHC: Yes. The former South Vietnamese government comprised two generations, that of the admiral and my own. By and large we can say that the GFV generations are the sons and nephews of the generation at the helm of the then South Vietnam. I must say that the then President of South Vietnam trusted the Americans too much, so much so that when they ran away, the country collapsed. This mistake won't be repeated by the GFV. For us, all nations have equal status. On the other hand, we do not underestimate the importance of the US in our struggle for democracy, and an increasing number of US politicians, senators and congressmen support us.

AC: When a new and democratic government is in place, do you envisage possible prosecution for those who committed serious crimes and abuses under the communist regime?

NHC: That will be up to the future democratic parliament. If it enacts new legislation providing for new, suitable courts to be established and Communist criminals to be prosecuted, they will be brought to book. The perpetrators of serious abuses will always be entitled to their basic human rights, namely a fair and equitable trial. Certainly, we would never allow summary executions. This would be to behave like Communists. □

The above article is based on an interview recently conducted in Rome by Dr Alberto Carosa, a Rome-based journalist.

Right Now!

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**PO Box 160, Bankstown, NSW 2200,
Australia.**

GENETIC FOLLY

Sir,

I am exasperated by the utter folly of these lunatics who have captured the life sciences, and with the lack of success of plans to protect the environment. All of this insertion of genes from one animal into another comes from an obsession with profits with no thought for the future. Breeding animals are thought of as mere valuable pieces of machinery, which function to pump out offspring like sausage machines.

We are burning and contaminating the earth. Wild animals are disappearing. There are too many people in this little country, we are running out of water and the environment is awash with toxic chemicals, the long term effects of which are unknown. If we don't act immediately, our children may never know the delight and beauty of an unspoiled landscape with bird-song and animal cries – what will life be like without that?

The Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Kingham, Oxon

EU WITHDRAWAL

Sir,

I read the account of your interview with Lord Lamont with interest and a large measure of agreement, especially concerning the environment. But on one point I so strongly disagree that I feel impelled to write to you. Lord Lamont takes the view that "if we wanted to join NAFTA, the EU would have to negotiate it for us because we have surrendered to Europe the right to make treaty arrangements governing trade with other countries".

So long as we have not accepted EMU and lost our currency this is not so. The provisions governing EMU contained in the Maastricht Treaty deprive countries which accept EMU of all further power of independent action. For example, in the long run it will become impossible for such a country to maintain its own armed forces if it has no currency of its own. For the moment Britain retains the power to leave the EU and Brussels has no power to stop

"It is by benefit of letters that absent friends are, in a manner, brought together."

- Seneca



Write to: The Editor, Right NOW!
BCM Right, London, WC1N 3XX.
or E-mail: rightnow@compuserve.com

The Editor regrets that he cannot answer all correspondence

it. Once outside the EU the rights that Britain has surrendered to the EU lapse completely, and it then has the power (as well as the right under international law) to make whatever arrangements it pleases.

I must also add that "joining" NAFTA is unlike membership of the EU, inasmuch as the latter is a superstate in the making, whereas NAFTA is a voluntary trade association, whose members retain their currencies and their independence and may withdraw without penalty when their interests so dictate.

**John Peek,
Chambonas, France**

LEFTIST PRESS

Sir,

May I take this opportunity to commend you and your contributors for producing such an excellent journal? In these libertarian times the importance of a Rightwing voice has never been greater, and without disrespecting your efforts it is disappointing that the mass media has so capitulated to the liberal Left.

A sorry example of this is the once-respectable *Daily Express*, which since the election has moved more and more to the Left. Apart from the excellent Peter Hitchens, who it seems is now their token Conservative, the new Editor has surrendered to the Left in an attempt to maintain readership numbers in these dark Labour times. Unlike the *Sun*, this was not announced on their front page. Instead they have covertly moved to the Left to the extent that they are just another mouthpiece for the government's spin doctors. We are faced with a media whose

members are largely openly biased towards the government and the "liberal" establishment. Against this background the fight against a single currency seems doomed to fail. I am assuming, of course, that the government will buy Murdoch's support by conceding television rights of some sort.

Nevertheless, there are those of us who will never surrender. We must keep our spirits up and do our utmost to uphold the values we share.

**S Strachan,
Glasgow**

DOWN WITH EUGENICS

Sir,

Michael Hughes (letters, *RN* 21) should read Richard Lynn's book. It is odd that conservatives should seek solace from an academic who, among other things, argues for abortion on demand "to reduce the fertility of the less intelligent".

Private education and health care are not synonymous with morality and Christianity, and should not constitute the starting point for a conservative social policy. Dysgenics is, like black history, a "tidy" theory that is both scientifically and ethically dubious. Lynn's intellectual predecessors created the concept of IQ, which is only one definition of intelligence, reflecting the logic, speed and cognition required by the capitalist system. Conservatives should revolt against the whole notion that intelligence can be numerically quantified.

Mr Hughes' "social eugenicism" would create an atmosphere of cant and suspicion, with society scrutinizing peoples' private lives to assess their right to reproduce. It would inevitably reach

beyond the so-called "underclass" to the morally upstanding (but not wealthy) working class. The idea that the state and civil society should have a say in individual fertility is firmly outside the English moral and cultural tradition. Britain's problems are not genetic in origin. If they are, then what is the point of *Right Now*'s campaigns against educational mediocrity, rising crime and worsening manners? Conservatism will not gain intellectual and moral ascendancy by transposing the law of the jungle to the modern laboratory.

**Philip Seddon,
Luton**

SINKING ESTATES

Sir,

Living on a Tyneside council estate I do not venture out after dark. Like most older residents, I bolt the doors and hope for the best. Yet this is not the worst estate, nor even one of the worst. Many here took advantage of the right to buy, but then the council started dumping psychopaths, welfare mothers and unemployable dysfunctionals onto us. As older residents died, their vacant houses were turned into single persons' flats. Other houses were given to "problem families" – people who had wrecked other estates were moved to more decent neighbourhoods, with what horrible results you can imagine.

Tenancy agreements are not enforced. Old folk are threatened and tormented. House prices have fallen. This is a socialist experiment in social engineering gone very, very wrong. Since ex-convicts and convicted drug dealers are now our neighbours, this is becoming yet another sink estate. Elsewhere around the country, hundreds of council homes stand derelict. Even desperate home-seekers will not move to these estates. Many council homes have been demolished after their urban savage residents rendered them uninhabitable. It is true that some girls do get pregnant to obtain a council house; it is not a Right-wing myth. I know the names of some of these girls; my children went to school

with them.

Many council tenancies are held by quite affluent people – and I don't mean the drug dealers! Housing rent arrears are at horrific levels in some places. Increasingly, council housing is a refuge for the deviant or anti-social. Tax-payers are effectively providing hideouts for career criminals and drug dens for dealers.

It would relieve taxpayers of a massive burden if economic market rents were charged for all council housing (the genuinely poor would get help to meet these as a first step in privatising them), all the stock not genuinely needed were sold

off and those who wilfully and repeatedly broke their tenancy agreements were evicted. Who will grasp this nettle? So far only Mrs Thatcher has dared to so much as touch it.

R James,
Tyneside

OXFORD CORRECTION

Sir,

Anthony Cooney doesn't know his Oxford [article on William Morris, *RN* 21]. The Rosetti murals in the Old Library at the Oxford Union have been restored and now on payment of 20p to light them up you can see them in all their glory.

Dr Andrew Fear,
Keele,
Staffordshire

Meetings and activities

Bulgarian Government delegation meets *Right NOW!*

In November, *Right NOW!* was approached by Bulgarian MPs from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO), a nationalist and conservative party founded in 1893 and one of the more important parties in Bulgaria's ruling coalition. The Bulgarians wanted to meet various British opinion-formers to discuss with them possible Bulgarian constitutional reform and the outcome of recent elections in Macedonia.

The party's counterpart in Macedonia, also called IMRO, has just won the general election in that country and is presently forming the new government in Skopje. It is hoped that this result will help stabilise the troubled region. The delegation, consisting of Krasimir Karakatchanov MP, Chairman of IMRO and a member of the Parliamentary Commission on National Security, Anatoly Velichkov MP, IMRO's Secretary and a member of the Parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs, and a distinguished London-based Bulgarian academic acting as interpreter, met with The Lord Sudeley and a representative of *Right NOW!* in the House of Lords for fruitful discussions on the uses of second chambers (Bulgaria is considering instituting a bicameral system of government).

In the evening, a reception was held at the Ambassador's residence.
Derek Turner

Conservatives for Human Rights

Conservatives for Human Rights is a new grouping for Conservative Party members, and those who identify themselves as social or cultural conservatives. It aims to recapture the idea of human rights from the 'liberal' elite, and re-anchor them in a conservative tradition of tolerance, freedom of speech and thought, respect for individuals, families and communities. Human rights, we believe, depend on human responsibilities, including responsibilities towards the natural world.

CHR has already enjoyed a Parliamentary dinner and organised a meeting on the crisis in Sudan, with speakers including Baroness Cox, Mike Dottridge (Director, Anti-Slavery International) and Suleiman Rahhal of Nuba Mountains Solidarity Abroad. Committee Room 18 was packed to bursting point, and a wide range of opinions were voiced. Similar events are planned for 1999. We also intend to publish research papers and monographs on subjects such as freedom of speech versus 'political correctness', the right of self-determination and the connections between ecology and conservatism.

If anyone is interested in helping or getting in touch, please write to Conservatives for Human Rights, c/o 51K Guilford Street, London WC1N 1ES. Tel 0171 278 9022 E-mail: aidanr@dircon.co.uk

Aidan Rankin

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BWMA, 45 Montgomery Street,
Edinburgh, EH7 5JX

The London Swinton Circle

The London Swinton Circle is a group of Conservatives whose political orientation is Powellite. We meet six to eight times a year at the Palace of Westminster. Recent speakers have included Dr Liam Fox MP, Oliver Letwin MP and Christopher Gill MP.

Membership is only £6 per annum. Further details are obtainable from:

Allan Robertson, Secretary,
22 Albury Street, London SE8 3PS

Forthcoming meetings in 1999:

January 26th: Andrew Robathan MP

February 10th: Jeffrey Donaldson MP

March 3rd: Nicholas Winterton MP

South Wales in Winter

Roy Kerridge remembers Brythonic winters

One of my favourite writers is the novelist and historian of Welsh life, Jack Jones. In honour of his book *Rhondda Roundabout*, I went to stay in one of 'the valleys' during the last days of the coal mines, the 1970s. After a day spent among the friendly and hard-drinking miners, I emerged from a trade union meeting to find the valley in lamp-pierced darkness but the hills above it still bathed in glorious sunlight. The ridges shone with a vivid unearthly orange glow that showed every larch tree in perfect clarity.

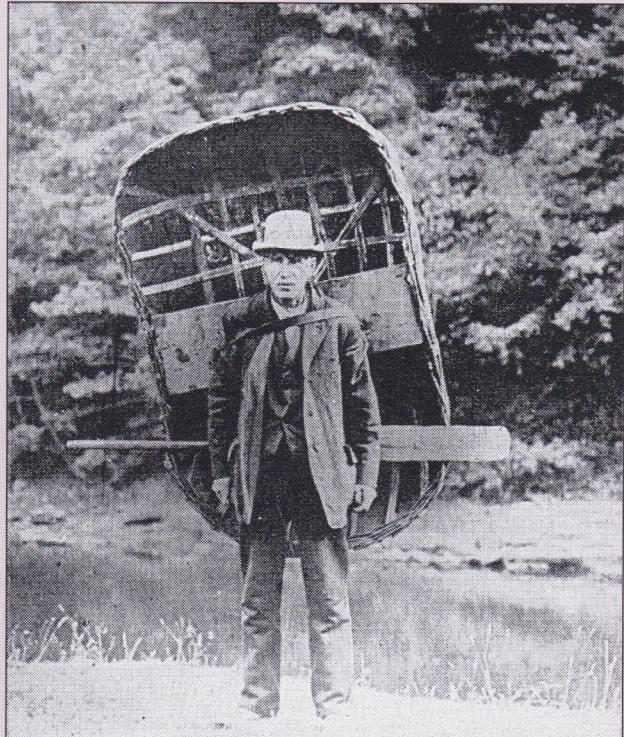
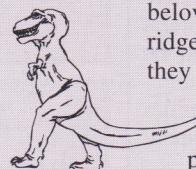
Next morning, I hurried to the bus stop through torrential rain, the narrow empty streets awash with sweeping black floods. Fountain jets spouted upwards between the bars of overflowing drain covers. It was still dark, the rows of brick terraced houses shining in bilious lamplight. Slowly, an immense pink moon sank out of sight behind a looming hill. Drainpipe spouts, with no barrels beneath them, poured water in cascades from houses as I passed.

My bus rides around south-east Wales took place in winter, a dramatic season in the land of hills, sheep and disused mines. North of the Rhondda Valley, ranges of tall hills soared to the sky – the Brecon Beacons, now a National Park. To the east of the Beacons lie the Black Mountains, but to the west, confusingly enough, stands the Black Mountain, singular. It was to this singular mountain that I went to visit some holes in its flank, the caves of Dan-yr-Ogof. On my visit, the Mountain was not very Black, more a greyish green, flecked with snow. Even the snow was mixed with rain, and didn't settle. However, the Brecon Beacons, now on my horizon, gleamed as white as the peaks of the Himalayas.

Dan-yr-Ogof caves were discovered in 1912 by two farmers, the Morgan brothers. They carried coracles up onto the hill, the portable wicker boats that have been used by Welsh fishermen from prehistoric times to the present day. A coracle man with his round boat on his back, striding towards a river, looks like a strange human tortoise. The intrepid Morgans entered an opening in the mountain from which poured a waterfall, and paddled against the current to discover chamber upon chamber of caverns. About twenty five years later, the caves were opened to the public.

A towering family of fibreglass dinosaurs, swirled about by snow, greeted me with mechanical roars as I approached the Morgans' waterfall. Most of them looked menacing, but one wore the quizzical indolent smile of a member of the Drones' Club out for a saunter. Water dripped from the ceiling of a lengthy tunnel, fully lit, cut into the hill. Waxwork cavemen glared at me as I entered the Bone Cave, where I donned a yellow safety helmet from the box provided. A large chamber, the Cathedral Cave, was quite spectacular, with stalactites like great pins poking from the ceiling.

An underground stream ran along the side of the pathway, decorated with models of blind underground cave creatures, that might have lived there, but didn't. Soon the stream opened into a huge pool inside the mountain, with a waterfall tumbling from the roof, an unnerving sight made



"A coracle man with his round boat on his back, striding towards a river, looks like a strange human tortoise"

doubly so by recorded choral music and the protruding legs of a waxwork frogman standing on his head. My senses buffeted with sensations ranging from the sublime downwards, I emerged to find a restaurant, souvenir shop and chalet complex, all closed.

I paused to admire another waterfall, outdoors this time, that plunged past the mossy roots of trees into a dark pool where hardy wild ducks dabbled. Models of Welsh dragons stood on the clifftop above, gusts of snow about their fireless mouths. Turning up my coat collar, I ran down the hillside towards a forlorn and frozen-looking bus stop.

Several bus rides and overnight stops later found me shivering on an unheated coach travelling from Jack Jones's beloved Merthyr Tydfil towards the English border. Strange ridges and ribs of snow protruded from the mountains, as if they were growing arms to hug their frozen sides. Desolate moors slanted upwards, covered in clumps of stiff, coarse grass among cracked frozen snow. Wild

ponies, dark and shaggy, foraged purposefully. Mountain streams rushed on their way as if impatient with the many blocks of ice that hindered their descent. Small towns along the way consisted of ribbons of stone terraces with vivid painted frames around the windows and doors, like Christmas streamers stretched below the mountains. The invention of easy-to-use brightly coloured house paints, red, yellow, orange and blue, has brought a welcome touch of cheerfulness to the erstwhile gloomy country of South Wales in winter.

Roy Kerridge's latest book, *The Story of Black History*, is published by the Claridge Press